

THE
PATRIOT MISCELLANY: *K*

10.7.418
OR, A

COLLECTION of ESSAYS

RELATIVE TO THE

POLITICAL CONTESTS

IN

I R E L A N D,

DURING

The Administration of his GRACE the
DUKE of *DORSET*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year MDCCCLVI.

THE
PATRIOT MISCELLANY:
OR A
COLLECTION OF ESSAYS

POLITICAL COMMENTS



The Author of the
DUNDEE
TWO VOLUMES

232

Printed in the Year 1832



THE
HISTORY
OF
ROGER.



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HISTORY

OF
K. O. C. B. R.

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HONESTY the best POLICY:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

ROGER.

L O N D O N :

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HISTORY

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ANALYST: J. T. Smith

THE
HISTORY
OF
ROGER.

ROGER was born of honest parents in *Yorkshire*, and very well to pass, who gave him a good education; and tho' he had no liking to any of the *professions*, yet was not without his share of the *greek* and *latin*; from which he got this advantage, that he could *spell* better than most *farmers* in the parish, and knew the *signification of words*, as well as if he had been bred at *Cambridge*, and turn'd out *master of arts*. He seem'd to have no design of pushing his fortune in the wide

A 3 world,

world, but sat down early on his own farm, followed husbandry, and improving a *headland* or two he had near him, which were quite run out of heart by the slovenly management of his ancestors, who had, most of them, too much wit to mind their business, and let things run to wreck strangely.

ROGER looked into every thing himself, ditched, and fenced, and limed, but never *burn'd* his land, and soon grew a *topping farmer*.

THERE was a cousin of his, who had a power of special farms in the *West-riding*, great royalties, and stately woods. Roger prevailed on him to put the management of them into his hands; and he not only preserved and enlarged them, but made the family interest better than ever it was. This got Roger great credit in his own parish, and all the manor about him; they began to find out he was a prudent, managing man; and resorted to him for advice at vestries, leets, and quarter-sessions, Whoever he recommended for overseers, waywardens, headboroughs, or the like, were sure to be chosen, and always behaved honestly.

IN the mean time, he followed his farming, and kept a warm house in the old fashion'd way; and seldom stirred abroad,

abroad unless to make up differences among neighbours, or to meet the *hundred* for applotting the land-tax; and by his good will would never have gone farther, or meddled out of the parish and manor, if the neighbours had let him sit still. But it happened, at this time, that *Slyboots* the *Secretary*, got a commission to be Lord-lieutenant of the county; and besides arraying the militia, came with a power (as all the county believed) to get new taxes laid on at the Sessions, and double the county charges. The neighbours, one and all, entreated *Roger* to go to the county town, and oppose these *new rates*. Tho' he thought there was no such design, yet he chearfully went, and very plainly told the governor his mind in private and warned him of trying what he could never compass. Now, whether it was that *Slyboots* had no projects in his head of that kind, or found he could not bring them to bear, certain it is he did no hurt to the county, and has ever since appeared to be an honest man. But what alarmed them was his character for sense, and cunning, and politicks. And, to be sure they were not out in their notion of him, for he could bambouze *Old Nick* himself, if he set about it, and make him, do journey-work; much more could he
 outwit

outwit the poor country folks, which makes me believe he never set about it *in earnest*. It is impossible else he could have missed it; for he could out-drink, out-talk, out-joke every man in the province, and could make a fool, at any time, of the best *Norfolk Attorney*, if he would let him *parly with him*. Besides, he was, at all times, so *good-humoured* and *free*, and pushed his bottle so joviously among his acquaintance, that it was beyond the power of honest men to resist or refuse him any thing. The whole secret of his behaviour in *Yorkshire* was, that old *Suck-fist*, who governed every thing at court, wanted a pretence to ruin him, as he found *Slyboots* too hard for him, and too *smoaky* to be bantered. Now, says *Suck-fist* to himself, if he does things beyond his commission, the county will complain of him, and I'll back them; if he be negligent in doing his business, I'll get him turn'd off. But *Slyboots* cunningly put the business on a couple of *moon-calves*, *Balaam the Parson*, and *Numps the Seneschal*, who he knew could do nothing, and then laid the blame on them, and, in his merry moods, would compare himself to a famous rope-dancer, then in town, who walked the slack-rope with two *lubberly porters* tyed to her heels,

BUT

BUT, whatever were *Slyboots's* intentions, he could make no hand of *Roger*, who drank with him, laughed with him, shook hands and parted for the country, where he took to his old way of living, and said nothing of the matter; for tho' *Roger* has often prevented things being done that would bear hard on the farmers, yet he never vapoured, or bounced, or took on him, which was so much the worse for him; for the less he said of himself, the more others talked, and agreed, one and all, that he was the only man to serve them on *occasion*, as well in the *county at large*, as in the *parish*.

IT happened the *headborough*, who had been chosen many years successively to that place, died, and every body's eyes were on *Roger* to succeed him. The *east* and *west-ridings* would hear of nobody else, 'till *Roger* honestly told them, there was a farmer in the *north-riding* who could serve them better than he, at that time, and would do all he could to have him into the place; and he was chosen without opposition, but in a little time died too. Then *Roger* had no excuse, and took the office briskly upon himself, tho' his improvements at the farm must stop, and he knew he should have but little pocket-money out of the place, after

B

buying

buying new cloaths, and treating the constables every quarter-session.

SLYBOOTS was now gone out of the county, and the next who came into the commission had a different character, and told them positively, at the meeting of the session, *he wanted nothing*, and only desired they would take care of themselves. Nobody ever doubted his word; but, however, *Roger* thought there was no hurt in *keeping a good look out*, and well he did so; for some people had taken in their heads, that the county was harrassed by quarter-sessions, and it would be a great easement to have *no more*, but agree *then* what rates should be paid every year, and let the people stay at home, and mind their plowing and sowing. This contrivance was ingenious enough, and many of the justices were for it; but the de---l a bitt could they answer some objections. Suppose, says one, the *County Treasurer* should squander the money, who will call him to account? If the constables don't do their duty, who will *fine* them? If the *army marauded, built sconces, kicked the neighbours, ruined the game*, where should they be tried? To all which questions, and a thousand more, there was but this answer: That the *county governors* would always be honest men; that the county treasurer would

would scorn to pocket their money ; the constables should be the best sort of people in the world ; and the soldiers as quiet as so many lambs. Almost half the justices closed with these *reasons* ; but *Roger* and his friends thought it possible, that once in an age there might be a *crook-finger'd treasurer*, a *knavish constable*, or a *swaggering captain* ; and of the two, were rather of opinion the experiment ought not to be made, and so outvoted the justices who were for it. No body charged the governor with having a hand in this, or tampering with the justices, tho' it was thought he could not have misliked it, as it would have saved him a world of trouble. The *same people*, a little while after, observed how unwholesome the fashion was of wearing *woollen cloaths*, that *linen* coats were much better, and would come cheaper, as that manufacture was in plenty all over the north ; and wanted a rule to be made, that the *exciseman* should cut the skirts off every coat made of wool, and the boys have liberty to squirt the kennel on them, as they do now on *callicoes* and *cambricks* ; but *Roger* seldom changed the fashion of *his cloaths*, and told the projectors it would certainly throw the whole county into *agues*, and bring such *fits* on them as all the *powder* in *Mexico* could never cure :

So that project was never mentioned more; and, from that time, *Roger* had so gained the good opinion of the justices, that for some years, all *whims* and *projects* seemed to be at an end, as they found he would never give into them. But all the while *Roger's* credit with the justices was looked on with an evil eye, by many of the top men in the county, as well as neighbours in his own parish, who were trying underhand to lessen it; but the first who set up openly against him was *Nim*, the *corporal*. He was a *cunning shaver*, and a notable *Jack at all trades*. He was first a foot Soldier, and a good duty-man, only he would play cards too *often on guard*. He was always at *putt* and *all fours*, got most of his comrade's pay, and, in the end, stripped all his acquaintance. He was on the point of getting a halbert when he quitted the army. He married a rich widow; then another rich widow. He got by selling, got at buying, and every way money flowed in apace. He had lately bought a fine farm from *Roger's* cousin, and almost bound-ed him. With this encrease of interest, he thought himself big enough to attack *Roger* in his head quarters. Besides, he had concerns in other counties, monies in bank, and was twice the *better man*, as we say. He was moreover one of the *quorum*.

He

He had a son, who was sent to see the world early, and learn fashions, and a clever person of a man he was, and a *beau* among the play-houses and *dancing-schools*. *Nim* laid a design to aggrandize his family, by marrying him to a daughter of the *new deputy*, who was quite a different kind of man either than *Slyboots*, or the last deputy; he seemed to desire nothing but *peace* and *plenty*, and was as plain and *downright* as any ordinary *Gaffar*; his friends would fain have him take state upon him, but he could not away with it. *Nim* brushed up to him, told him how many farms he had, how many tenants; what an interest he had among the justices; that if he would let him manage his affairs he might *walk the fields* from morning to night, and not trouble himself with business. He liked the proposal, (for he hated *gaffring* and *disputing*) and closed with *Nim's* request to marry his daughter to his son and heir. *Nim* was now sure he had the game in his hand, and resolved to take the first opportunity to have a tryal of skill with *Roger*. It happened one of the *Verdurers* died in the *East-riding*, and another must be chosen to keep the *king's game*. Tho' *Roger's* interest was less in that *riding* than in the two other, yet he would not let his *bone* go without a snap or
two.

two. *Nim* told the deputy there should be no struggle, that not one of the *pack* would venture to shew his teeth against him, that he would carry it off with a *Tally-bob*. *Roger* laugh'd in his sleeve, and knew he had the better interest, (tho' he did not chuse to talk in dog-language) and very quietly put his own man in the *verdurer's* place. This was a deadly blow to *Nim*; he saw the substantial farmers were for *Roger*. If he couldn't carry his point in his own royalty and *Riding*, what must he do in other parts? So he resolved to join with *Roger* 'till a better time offered, and indeed was quite desperate when he *came to terms*. It was not long till an accident fell out that revived his hopes; it happened, critically, that the parson of the *minster* died by a surfeit of pork; it was a main good parish, with a swinging glebe; he had *prebends*, and *petty canons* in his disposal, could rule the *vestry*, recommend overseers, and govern quite down to curates, clerks and sextons; which, with his power of *benediction*, made him altogether one of the top men in the *county*. *Nim* resolved to avail himself of this opportunity and recommend one to the *deputy*, to come in the place of old *Trulliber*, who should join him against *Roger*.

THERE

THERE was a young curate *lately* come into the neighbourhood, a great *crony* of *Nim's* family, and well liked by every body else. He was sprightly, generous and good natured; a good scholar and a good preacher for a young man; but, above all, had so taking, modest a behaviour, that every one who saw him became his friend, or, at least, was wise enough to dissemble his dislike. All wheels were set a going to make him parson of the *minster*; and to say justice, the young man was not idle in doing for himself. He came in with universal applause, tho' one of *his* years had never been in that place before. *Roger* was glad of his preferment, and whenever the parish met at vestry, or the *hundred*, to applot the land-tax, shew'd him great civility and compliments, which the parish observing, encreased their respect for the parson; and the few who were dissatisfied with his advancement changed their note; his youth was now no longer an objection; it was an happiness to have an active young man among them, instead of an old *mumpsimus*, to sleep all sermon time, or an old *pig-doctor*, who had no learning but a receipt for curing the meazles: And, for a good while, he gave general satisfaction, till bad company was the spoil of him, and by

by degrees led him into projects he never thought to meddle with in the beginning.

AMBITION, as well as a *law-suit*, may be compared to a *wire-mill*; if it get you by the finger, it draws in your whole body; or, *ambition* grows on men as they advance higher, as on going up a hill, every step enlarges the prospect: But whether it was his *own ambition*, or only friendship for *ambitious men*, it is fact he plunged over head and ears, and did not look how he leaped.

NIM had a *brave boy* for his second son, a *buck* and a *buffer*. He was a great favourite of the old corporal, who spared nothing to make a *man of him*, and got him another daughter of the deputy for a wife, and a tight wench she was; but it was no easy matter to bring young *Hopeful* to take a liking for business; *foot-ball* and *prison-bars* were his delight. He could never be sober for the blood of him, or or orderly, or rest a moment in a place; if he went to sermon, he was every turn whistling or kicking his heels, and the curate said he would never come to good. But *Nim* was resolved to have him a man of business, and got him put into his own place, which was *surveyor of the excise*; and indeed it was time for *Nim* to quit, as, either from carelessness or having his
ink

ink too thick, he was very apt to leave *blots* in his book. Well, a surveyor was young *Hopeful*, and did well enough; his carriage was more stay'd, and he looked sometimes (especially in company with the excisemen) as if he was *thinking*; but, when a holyday came, he was as gamefom as ever, and he contrived to make *more* holydays than are mark'd in the almanack, having bought (for that purpose) a new prayer-book, with births, martyrdoms, massacres and coronations, all put together along with *saints*, male and female, *blacks* and *whites*; he religiously observ'd them all, and would have honoured, willingly, a hundred more; such a regard had he for the *holy church*.

NIM now thought it was time to push himself forward, and, forgetting his agreement with *Roger*, set all hands to work. The *Parson* was his fast friend. *Hopeful* was now a man of enterprize, and, if holydays did not come thick, could stick to *business*. *Nim's* first scheme was to have him made *chairman* at the quarter-session, as that would make him popular among the justices; and, if they had a majority of the justices, they could do any business the deputy had a mind, and so *Roger* might be laid by. They worked cunning enough for a while. *Nim*, with

his son and heir, *Hopeful* and his comrades, were all *court* and *compliment* to *Roger*, cryed him up in all companies; but, underhand, were setting the *Parson* against him, and engaged to the *Parson*, that he should *rule the roast*, in a little time, instead of *Roger*, and have all the farmers and *yeomanry* on his side; tho' they meant nothing less than *his interest*; for indeed it was impossible he could be bettered by any interest, or get any more preferment; but they thought it *politick* to let him *appear* to be the *principal*. *Roger* got an *inkling* of their design, but resolved they should *shew themselves* a little more before he set about to *shew* them. They were watching all opportunities to get new friends among the justices, and try'd to get one of the *King's boatmen* into the commission. They pushed him on, and assisted him with might and main; and all the while were writing, and cursing, and swearing to *Roger*, they were against him; and that if *Roger* did not like to have him on the bench, they would soon put a *spoke in his wheel*, and stop his driving. *Roger* thanked them, but thought himself as good a workman as any of them, and *put the spoke in the wheel* without standing to their curtesy; so the *boatman* went back to his station. *Roger* now had a clear view of
every

every thing they intended; and how they put off matters to a more lucky time. *Roger* had few tricks in him; but was not to be caught with chaff. Moreover, he had used some times to set traps in the meadows to catch the *old foxes*, and thought it might be easy to snap the *cubs*.

NIM's party, for he appeared but little in it himself, were all youngsters, and made a kind of privy-council for the *Parson*. There was, *imprimis*, young *Hopeful*; *had* *Jack the Attorney*, just out of his time; *Dick* the clerk in the excise-office: but their chief strength was *ancient Pistol*, lately come from the wars, and content, while the peace lasted, to doff his sword and jack-boots for the more gainful employment of a *scrivener*; and to do the *blade* justice, he wrote a main good hand, and was a fair spoken lad as you would hear in a hundred; but he was deadly fond of *pitch'd battles*, with as little luck as they had in *Flanders*, and seemed to have less skill in a *home* war than a *foreign one*, where he behaved as well as any of them. *Roger* saw them in high spirits, and soon gave them an opportunity of exerting them.

Gimerack, one of their cronies, had been put in by the *deputy* to oversee the bridges in the county, repair market-houses and hospitals, (tho' not the session-house) and

was allowed handsomely for his trouble. Now, it was *Gimcrack's* misfortune, not to know the difference between a *cube* and *arch*, a *sky-light* and a *Venetian*, and other things of little consequence in masonry; but the material part of the *mystery* he understood to a root. If he repaired a bridge, he charged *double*; if he did not repair it, *quadruple*; if there was *no bridge*, *sixteen*; and so, all in *geometrical* proportions, that he might not go out of rule. When he brought his bill before the *grand-jury*, *Hopeful* wondered how he could work so cheap; *Pistol* moved he might have the thanks of the county for his *parsimonious* management of the publick money, *ten pounds* of which he saved them to demonstration; for in one bill he charged *twenty*, and in another only *ten pounds*. But when *Roger* looked on the *dates*, he found the *last* bill was *twenty*, which seemed, to him, to overturn the demonstration; and, for the little he knew of *arithmetick*, thought it looked more like *addition* than *subtraction*. But *Gimcrack's* friends made light of these remarks, clapped him on the back, and swore they would bear him harmless.

AND here they fairly threw off all reserve, bit the *nail*, and turned the heel on *Roger*; and a thousand stories they told

told of *him* and his friends to the *deputy*. First, *Roger* had no interest at all ; then he had so much that he was *dangerous* ; then *Gimcrack* was the best *bridge-builder* in the world ; *Roger* was for having *every bridge* and *market-house* in the county fall to decay, from the desire he had to see the county ruined, and the people *sink* or *swim* for his diversion. The Deputy, who was really a good-natured man, pity'd the poor people, and joined to take them out of *Roger's* hands ; he spoke to his acquaintance of the *grand-jury* ; and tho' he did not *reflect* on *Roger*, yet he mainly magnify'd the *Parson*, and wished they would take any directions *he* should *send them*, as he could not go among them himself, which, he *said*, and *Pistol* swore, should be for their good. So, on both sides, they mustered their forces, and *Roger*, on the *poll*, had just two in three of his side, and *Gimcrack* went to pot.

THIS was a cruel blow, but chiefly bore hard on *young Hopeful* ; if ever he had a chance for the *chair* at quarter-sessions, it was now over ; the whole county saw the design on both sides. The *Parson* and *Hopeful* wanted to rule the county, who, for aught we know, might do it well ; but we were *sure Roger* had done so. He wanted nothing, and asked nothing

thing for himself; one of his sons got a second-hand pair of *red breeches* and *white stockings*, which he paid more for than if he had bought them in *Menmouth-street*. He got a friend of his made an *exciseman*; but when he asked for a *constable's place* he was refused. However, he went on in the old track, and *Hopeful* and the *Parson* redoubled their efforts to *oust* him. One plot they laid upon another, and trick upon trick. *Pistol* (who was *pretty much a stranger*) wondered none of them succeeded; but they wanted somebody to tell them, that tho' *tricks* may get the better of a *trickster*, they are lost and squandered on one who has no *tricks*. If a man takes to *corners*, or *short turns*, you may meet him on a short turn, or find him in a corner; but how the D---l will you catch him if he never comes there? *Roger* walked the *turnpike* and the *middle stone* of the street. *Hopeful*, *Pistol*, and the *Parson*, were all *peeping* to watch him. Now, says *Hopeful*, he'll come down this *bye turn*. Here, says the *Parson*, down this alley, as it's the *nearest way*. *Pistol* was sure of him at the *turn-stile*. But *Roger* had found, by *constant walking*, that farthest about was the *ready way home*. When they saw him *fairly passed*, they looked at one another like a sett of *rooks*, who

who have lost their money to a *fair gamester*; and since they could not *take him in*, or make any thing of the game they first took in hand, they began to attack his *friends and cronies*. One had a *little allowance* from the county for something *he had done*; another, perhaps, for something *he had not done*; a third, in consideration of his father's having been willing to do some service to the county, if he had happened to have ever been in it; and the like gratifications were bestowed on many, but not by *Roger's* recommendation. He got indeed a small pittance for *Treat-all*, which just served to buy him a few *Ortolans*, and a little canary wine. All these they *cashiered* to vex *Roger*; whereas he cared not, for any matter of profit he had, if they took his own places away. Upon their being *convinced* of *Roger's* resolution in these and sundry other points, they put his *friends* on the *list* again, and turned their whole resentment on the *exciseman*, who had talked briskly, in all companies, on *Roger's* behalf. Besides, the *surveyors* did not rightly like him. All the *brewers* of the parish hated him into the bargain, because he kept them tight, and made them *drink as they brewed*; but the former *exciseman* they

they adored, and a good man he was; they might *brew* three times a week for him; and yet look over his book for a month it was all silent. Now and then, on an office day, he might condemn a barrel of small beer for example.

BUT to draw to an end of this *first part of the history*. Roger has more interest than ever; the *Parson* seems to have done; *Nim* has retired into the country; *Hopeful* may look after his *surveying*, and play foot-ball on holydays; *Pistol* is gone back to change his cloaths, and exercise his men. And now they are all parted, we may hope for peace and quietness 'till next *Quarter-session*.

F I N I S.

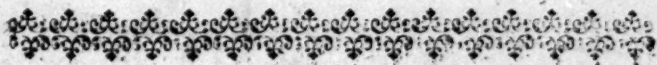


A

VINDICATION

OF THE

R-----t H-----e and H-----e L-----DS
and GENTLEMEN, &c.



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VINDICATION

OF THE

R-----t H-----e and H-----e L-----ds and
Gentlemen, who have been basely aspersed,
and scandalously mis-represented, in a late
Anonymous work, Intituled,

THE

HISTORY

OF

ROGER.

By a Lover of Truth.

DUBLIN:

Printed in the YEAR 1752.



A
VINDICATION
OF THE

R-----t H-----e and H-----e L-----ds and
Gentlemen, &c.

THERE is no virtue can be free from the envenomed teeth of *malice* and *disappointment*. The best intentions are misconstrued, when *envy* has leave to work, and *slander* can be sure of impunity. The less merit men have themselves, the more does it *gaul them* to behold it in others, and without any other provocation to resentment; to be *eminent* is enough to be *odious*. This maxim has been exemplified in every age: But never more than in a *recent* instance of the highest impudence and folly in a ridiculous paper, called, *The history of Roger*, where the *pitiful historian*, under *feigned names* and *invidious allusions*, has traduced and vilified men of the highest degree both in *church* and *state*, and even taken the *licence* (for liberty I can't call it) to play with *names* that ought to be

be held in some degree *sacred*; for the persons of V---e R---ys are the representative of Kings.

THIS scandalous paper is said to have been well receiv'd by the *publick*, and pretended by the booksellers to have been bought up to the number of some thousands. I shall not pretend to dispute the *publick taste*. If any one can find in it wit or entertainment, he has my consent to admire and applaud the performance. I am only concerned to set in a *true light*, the characters of several very worthy persons, which he has ignorantly and maliciously misrepresented.

WHEN men have served their country with *faithfulness* and *ability*; when they have proved themselves clear of any *by-ends*, or *lucrative designs*; when they have contributed to the publick utility even by impairing their private fortunes; it is a bad return to be *pelted* with *libels* and sawcy invectives, and exposed to the publick view in *fools coats*, and disadvantageous descriptions. And if a law could be found out for the punishment of the authors, or the readers, (who are equally culpable,) it would be ev'ry good man's desire to see it put in execution; and I can't help declaring my opinion, that if in any case it be allowable to *stretch the laws*, it never can be done with more *equity* and *justice* than in bringing to *light* and condign punishment, the authors, who screen themselves from the *letter of the law* by allegories, fictions, and feigned representations. They are more dangerous

gerous than an open enemy, and under pretence of *liberty of the press*, for aught I know, in time, may undermine and subvert the constitution. Their apology is, who can say I mean't so, and so? Shall that be an excuse for treason and opposition to *delegated power*? Is not their meaning plain, though not expressed in words? Would not these writers, in any other country, soon be convinced their *meaning* was understood; and must an *English* jury be the only body of men, who must never *take upon them to conceive*, or understand? ridiculous subterfuge! and I will maintain it in point of equity, though *M-l--e*, and the *greatest lawyers in Westminster* should contradict me.

In the paper before us, would it be perjury for a jury to *find*, that *Yorkshire* means *Ireland*, and *Roger* a gentleman I don't think fit to name? That by *quarter sessions* is meant *p---t*; by *justices* the *mem---rs*; by *constables* *Sheriffs*, and so on; and that the several gentlemen therein nicknamed are *extremely well* known, though ill described, and may *have their action* against the author for a *libel*? Now, whether any reformation may be expected in this matter, and the people of *England* have *leave to see*, as they do in other countries, I shall not say; but only will recount a late instance in *France*, where fifty *Abbe's* were committed to the *Bastile*, because it was thought probable that one or other of them might have a hand in a satire, which seemed to reflect on a great lady in *near confidence and trust* with

with the king. And yet that satire was by no means so plain, or the persons pointed at so well understood, as are the most *inconsiderable* in this *paltry history*, which I shall throw away an hour to animadvert on.

As there are but two ways of confuting a history, either by disproving the facts, or hanging the author; and the last of these being unhappily out of the Power of the Government; I shall neither *disfown the Facts* alluded to, or *arraign* the author, but only *vindicate* the gentlemen aspersed, and make occasional reflexions on their *worthy historian*. Whoever offers to write for the publick ought at least to understand the language he writes in, and of the people he writes to; by which rule of judging we may fairly conclude, he intended his work for the *accurate* perusal of the chairmen off *Hazard* or fresh-men out of commons, in *College-green*, and not improbably for the loitering mechanicks of *Plunket-street*. *Putt* and *all-fours*, may be understood by the *former*, and *second-hand breeches* by the *latter*; but 'tis a down-right affront to address the gentry and nobility in terms and phrases of so *low a rate*, and such a *vulgar stamp*; and to convey to their apprehension, in *little ideas*, *things* and *persons* of the *greatest* consequence and importance. But this I do not charge as a fault in the writer, but to the *scoundrel habits* of a low education, which the *reputed* author can never shake off, though long admitted to the company and confidence of the *top nobility*.

lity and gentry of the kingdom. Nor do I call it his *ignorance*, in this point, but rather his *art*, by this method to lower, in the opinion of the publick, the *pretensions* and *characters* of men, who have long stood foremost on the lists of reputation and honour.

THE first *character* or description that occurs to us, is the principal figure in the *piece*. If he has drawn it ill or well is no affair of mine, and I suppose the gentleman intended will be but little obliged by his *clumsy encomiums*. Nor shall I stop to consider whether he be master of the happy accomplishments of *spelling*, and understanding the *meaning of words*, because every *school-boy* can *put together*. A horse can understand words, and I knew a parrot that spoke *French*, and probably now, can translate it into *English*, as he has long been conversant in an *English* family. But his *panegyricks* are not what I intend to consider, but his bold *invectives*, and sawcy familiarity with the greatest personages. Is *Slyboots* a name by which to describe the greatest wit, and most consummate statesman, that the present century has produced? Is a penetrating genius, and a sagacity to which nothing is impervious, sufficiently set forth by the word *smoaky*? Is oratory, superior to *Tully's* himself, (if he were to speak in the same place) handsomely represented, or decently expressed, by *out-talking his company*, and *bamboozling Old Nick*? Is a flowing courtesy, and condescending carriage, with pleasantry united

to dignity, either natural, or not to be acquired but by natural and great talents, so as to escape discovery, to be put on the same footing with the *joke* and *banter* of a *four-courts* companion, at a *Fishamble-street* ordinary? These are things that call aloud for redress, and are manifest invasions on the rights and privileges of the *great* and *noble*. Respect to those distinguished by their *place*, or more distinguished by parts and abilities superior to any place, is a *moral* Duty, I had almost said, a religious one, and never can be neglected, but by the *mean* and *flagitious*, by men of obscure birth and dirty education. To encourage, or not suppress it, is fatal to the commonwealth, and, I fear, will soon prove so to the constitution of *this city* in particular. And if some wholesome remedy be not timely applied to restrain the violences of the *mob*, and the licence of conversation at *Drums*; we shall soon see an end of all government and order, the scum will be uppermost. The *Kevin Bail* will chuse one *Lord-Mayor*, and the *Liberty-Boys* another; and the same *anarchy* will prevail in the *capital*, that has ruined *Waterford*, and laid waste *Kilkenny*. The characters of the nobility will be at the mercy of lady -----, and become sport to the motly mixture of the senseless crew, who form her *polite* meeting, and support her envied reputation of having all the w-----s, sh-----rs, and fools, of this great city for her friends.

BUT

BUT I return from my digression, which I have made the longer, in order to *stigmatize* once for all the pernicious liberty this historian has allowed himself, in *degrading of characters*; and his bold though successful attempt to *stamp ridicule* on gentlemen, who are the farthest in the world from being ridiculous; and, I hope, will not be thought so when I have *reasoned* my reader out of his disposition to laugh. What idea he would give us by the word *Suck-fist* is to me incomprehensible, though I meet with a *judge* of that name in *Rabelais*. But it's obvious he intended it for Sir R. W---e, who was the idol of his own times, and will be the wonder of posterity; who contrived to subdue the *bullies of the world*, without returning their blows; and baffled the politicks of the ablest statesmen, by letting them do what they pleased with him and his country. But these remarks I have done with, and proceed to justify the character of a worthy prelate and a solid Ld C---r, who long presided in this kingdom, to the great improvement of learning in the church, and support of property in the state. He has represented them as undertakers for *Slyboots*, in some *mysterious* business, enjoined him by *Suck-fist*, on his departure to his government. Now, not to mention that the *first* was the most improper of his *whole class* to be employed about *mysteries*, it is highly improbable he would suffer himself to be made a *tool* of, to work the detriment of a country, which he, as well as his successors, *professed* an inclination to serve.

And though some *memorandums* of his were discovered at an auction of books, after his decease, laying down *plans* for distressing this country, I can suppose them *no other* than *solitary amusements*, as often as he was tired with severer studies, and that he chose to unbend his mind with *unpolitick* speculations, but without any design of putting them in practice. If we may judge of the *other*, from his proceedings in the *court*, he could hardly apprehend, or get *impressed* on his mind, during a whole session, what *Slyboots* would expect to be the *execution of a day*. And though he says *ironically*, that *Slyboots* chose them on account of these *negative* qualifications, the whole is no better than an invention of his own, and may go along with the story of *his rope-dancer*.

THE next thing material that claims our notice is, an invidious insinuation, that a *scheme was laid*, to give the usual *taxes* for a long term of years; which in itself was a useful proposal for the weal publick, and the only ill consequence to be apprehended from it was laying aside parliaments till the expiration of *that term*. I own, we have had very tragical outcries on this subject, and been made to believe, by the artifice of popular and designing men, that evils must ensue from a suspension of legislative power, to which only an effectual appeal can be made, from the *abuses of power* in the hands of a few, and for redress of grievances imposed by those, who will find *impunity*, if not
encou.

encouragement, from *superiors*, who may be too much interested themselves, to open a scene where they have *borne a part*, or enquire too narrowly into petty misdemeanors, which must bring to light their own more important transactions. *This*, I will only observe, has ever been the cry, when *wanton discontent* makes men troublesome and uneasy; when *encreasing wealth* makes them proud and luxurious; 'tis then they *kick* against their rulers, and would shake off the burden of legal power; 'tis then they *want*, they know not *what*, and *fear*, they know not whom. They start at *shadows*, like a pampered horse; and my countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I compare them to *Fingallian garrons*, which the owners will tell you, oftentimes are *too strong to work*, and when long left at *ease and fodder*, will bite, and bounce, and kick, *before*, as well as *behind*.

THAT our kingdom of I—d is in these circumstances no one will advisedly deny. Our *publick stock* has well nigh *doubled* in eighteen years past. From a poor, we are become a rich nation. And though all this has happened during the time this historian's *hero*, as he would insinuate, has *skreened* the kingdom from the ill judged designs of men in power, it is obviously owing to the encouragements given by every Lord L—t to the linen manufacture, and the suppressing of illicit commerce both *out* and *in*; though in his next paragraph, he attempts to be merry on a
scheme

scheme was thought necessary for the good of the kingdom, and would to a demonstration have had one good effect, *viz.* that the *ragged appearance* so general in our streets, and so disagreeable to strangers, would soon be removed; for where there is no *cloath* there can be no *ragged cloaths*; and I think to be naked (if it came to that) is more *uniform* than to be *ragged*, and would not so much expose *men* to the contempt of the *English*, especially the *English ladies*, as the *half covering* they see at present before every window they look out at, and the *unskirted* coats and discontinuous *breeches* of *chair* and *hackney coach-men*.

BUT to have done arguing on things so plain, let me in the next, vindicate a noble P—r from the imputations our historian has laid thick upon him. This gentleman it is known went early into an honourable command in the army, and did not, as gentlemen do now, from the *caprice of the times*, begin at the lowest *rank*, and proceed by *steps* as time and merit may open the way, but quickly arrived at a command, which few now in early life can expect. If he amused himself with *gaming*, it was because the *army* had little else to do. If he won Money, it was because fortune favoured him. If he kept it when he got it, was only in compliance with the *sordid* way of thinking so universally prevailing in the present age, and when every man and every woman, is esteemed a fool, who do not get money

money by *ev'ry way* they can. I remember in the time of *K. Charles*, when a nobleman was little respected on account of a *large* estate if not accompanied with a suitable *largeness* of mind, and if *superior* breeding did not come in aid, to superior rank and wealth. A distinguished honesty was then superior to *titles*, as is very well observed by *Dr. Loyd*, in his life of *Mr. Peto*; and after him by *Ld. O-----y*, that to be a *right honest* is more desirable than to be a *right honourable man*. But now notions are reversed, and the gentry and nobility *must stoop to things their great souls abhor*, in order to get money, or else pass for fools. If this be the taste of the times, I suppose our *historian* would not have the *corporal* be out of fashion, and pass for a fool, which no man ever thought him. I purposely pass by the pertness of the *nickname*, having remarked on that before, tho' one would think the Author must know his *rank*, and when he got it, so that ignorance cannot pass for an excuse, or exempt him from the epithets of *impudent* and *ill-mannered*. As he has passed a slight compliment on his son and Heir, I pass over to *Hopeful*, under which appellative he describes a young Gentleman of *great hopes*, and *very early* distinguished in *very eminent stations*; and, 'tis to be *hoped*, may in time arrive at *greater*. His objections are so trifling and *puerile*, it is beneath a grave writer to set about refuting them. It seems he was *brisk* and *lively* at school, played *football* and *prison bars*, (a game I never heard of;) look'd *arch* and heedless in Church,

Church, and did not mind the sermon. Pray let me ask him, don't all lads of a generous constitution play *cricket*, (that I suppose he means) or on a frosty day join in any football match they happen to meet? Would he have a boy at sermon look as grave as my *Ld. C---* *B---* when he gathers up his face, and *folds* up his eyes, to have his ears entertained with *St---d's* tenth argument for deferring the *decree*. Must he at all times look, as important as was *Betf---b* when in *act to speak*, or majestic as *S---n* when he charges the jury? Is it any crime that he took advantage of holydays, which are now only understood, (*by all*, but the *reader* and dean of christ church,) as an exemption from business of *our own*, or a pretence for keeping other people's money? If a reformation be wanted in that point, and that people may be at liberty to observe the commandment, let the *church* look to it, and the state, *which is always infallible*, begin the *reformation*. Must the gentlemen of barrack and revenue boards set up for *reformers*, who are but lately reformed themselves, and will have enough to do if they *keep* rules enjoined them, instead of making them for others.

IV.
BUT to answer such cavils, is as idle as to make them: Nor will I waste my reader's time and patience in confuting his ungrounded insinuation that *Hopeful* ever entertained an expectation of being made a *chairman*. The silly author contradicts himself; for a *chair* must be of little use to one, who can never

never sit still. Nor is it well to be believed, from the character he has given him, he should know how to sit in an *armed chair*, or what part of it to occupy. When *harlequin prince*, in the *Paris* comedy, received *embassadors*, he sat *sideways*, and dangled his legs over one of the arms, sitting his *bonnet* and flourishing his *lath*, whilst the unheeded *orators* made their speech from behind him. We have *masters* to teach us how to dance and walk, and I would here recommend it as a thing *needful* to the next generation to give proper encouragement to *sitting masters*, as the composing of the body and limbs with due decorum in that state, is not to be neglected; because our *attitude* is easier observed, and *remark'd on*, than when *walking* or *running*.

His next *character* of a person in high station under the name of *the Parson*, is the only one, in which there is neither *flattery* or *satire*; the first part of it is no more than his due, and the second he could not help, if it be a *real* and not an *apochryphal* account of him. But in the appellative of *Pistol* he has taken *unbounded freedom*, and related facts without assigning the causes of them, and actions without telling us the motives. He was fond, it is true, of *pitch'd battles*; but it was because *William the hardy* was fond of them too. It was no want of spirit, or conduct, that rendered *Pistol* unfortunate. He was overpowered by numbers, both in *Flanders*

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ders and college green, and came off (whatever this *Historian* may suggest) considerably better at home, than he did in the Campaign abroad. There he was wounded, but here he escaped shot free from the battle; and if you set any other general against him, he shall fight it o'er again, although his allies were not to be depended on at home or abroad. They were both consulting for their private interest and trade; and quite regardless of the common cause.

THERE are sundry Characters of an inferior class, who doubtless will properly resent the unworthy treatment he has given them; and if they wait an opportunity of kicking or sweating the author, they may find him ev'ry evening on his solitary walk north-side of Stephen's-green at five o'clock, or in the entry of the rose in castle-street, from whence he returns ev'ry night at eleven. And whatever correction they will be pleased to give him, will be connived at, or made up on giving satisfaction to the plaintiff, or another beating, as they shall chuse; or their friends, who have interest with men in power, shall advise.

BUT before I close I must in honesty do justice to one, who is not only slandered by the *pert* insinuations of this scandalous writer; but, in the opinion of the world, was hardly dealt by, and unreasonably mobbed (I can call it no better) by two hundred persons, whose names I desire to be excused inserting.

serting. And the writer, who perhaps is one of that very *Mob*, has, in the character of *Gim-crack*, thrown a vile imputation on a Gentleman every way equal to his employment, and who before, had made sufficient proof of his *taste*, as well as *knowledge*, in architecture, both *military* and *civil*. I omit the repairing of barracks *hinted at*, as a *fitter* work for an ordinary mechanick, than a Gentleman, who had travelled to *take plans* of fortifications, and study the true principles of ancient and modern architecture, and doubtless made his observations on the defects of *Vauban* and *Coborn*.

THE wretched condition is well known of the *forts* and *garrisons* of this kingdom when Mr. *J—es* became engineer-general, in so much that I have heard it affirmed, by persons thought to understand that service, that if *marshal Saxe* had taken an opportunity to land at *Kinsale* with twenty thousand men, and a few of the heavy cannon he sent afterwards to *Bergen-op-zoom*, it was morally impossible the *fort* could, in its then defenceless state, sustain a siege of more than 17 days; especially as it might have happened at a time when the most *experienced gunners* and *matroses* of the *fort* were drained away to serve under Gen—l *S—r* on the *L'orient* expedition. That the *French* had such a design is, I think, past doubt, and it had *transpired* so far as to be communicated to the publick in Mr. *F—r's* Journal, beside the private intelli-

gence my *Ld. W---a*, then *first* of the admiralty, received from his *spies*. And that the said *marshal*, said *men*, and said *artillery*, were seen off the *Cape* for three days together, with a well appointed fleet of *tall ships* and *tenders*, was sufficiently attested to, by *three* justices of the peace in those parts, and *seven* coast officers. Now, can any human reason be assigned, why a fleet so well found with military Stores, equipped at such expence of treasure, and so near the place of its destination, should suddenly disappear, and never be heard of more; save this one and only answer to be given (*viz.*) that the said *marshal's* retreat was owing to *distrust of success*, on hearing from his *popish* correspondents on shore, that Mr. *J---s* was made *engineer* general, and had fitted up the *fort* to give him a warm reception? I do not mention this (tho' a known fact) in order to prop the *engineer's* reputation for military knowledge, which he abundantly shewed in the dispositions he made in the most considerable of our *forts* and in removing *bombs*, and *mortars*, and all the *lumber* that might be useless in a *garrison*, and only serve to terrify the unexperienced soldiers with their terrible mouths and hideous roar, as often as the governor threw *shells* for his diversion. But I must think it ungrateful, after his military services, to call him to account for paltry sums, which every ordinary overseer at *St. Patrick's* steeple in all probability purloined; and more, all trades in a free country

country have their allowed *perquisites*. And I see no use in multiplying *inspectors*, *check* and *coast-officers*, *muster-masters* and *examinators*, and the numerous tribes of this kind, so expensive to the state, since in the *last report* this question may be ask'd,--- *quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* in *English*, *Who does the money belong to?* Till that point is settled, I hold it folly to be exact, *sue securities*, and stop mens hands in their honest industry, only to amass wealth to lye in *idle heaps*, and *without currency*, till the question be resolved; which, for aught appears, will not be speedily, or at least till people are more disposed to come to an *agreement* on the subject.

HAVING now pretty well gone through with, and clearly confuted the misrepresentations, scandalous suggestions, and vile insinuations, of the author of this boasted piece, I shall neither delay myself or reader to consider him farther in his historical capacity. Nor can I believe what is confidently asserted, that he intends a continuation of his history. At least, he must wait for matter till *next quarter session*; for he has spun the thread of his ridiculous narrative quite out already. Though it is possible, some hireling scribler may be encouraged by the uncommon sale it met with, to put a second on the town, in which history, if he presume to bring in and handle the author of *this Vindication*, he may chance to repent it. And I here give notice, that, if any *College Wit*, or
Custom-

Custom-house foaker ; any *pert player*, or conceited *Manager* ; any *flattering Chaplain*, or above all any *Prig* of a *Templar*, shall shew his *fire*, *new parts*, and *genius*, by making remarks on this paper of mine ; should he exhaust his common place book, or the records of his memory, for the wit he treasured up at *Ivy-Lane*, heard at the *Bull's-Head* from *R——r B——n*, or collected by scraps at the *Grecian* coffee-house ; I shall, I repeat it, take the liberty not to mind him. I shall *nonfuit*, whenever I am called on by him. But if a sober writer, who will use sound sense and grave argument, and with all be polite in his manners, and gentle in his words, shall think fit to criticize me, I will, in imitation of the learned author of *The Essay on Spirit*, if God grant me life and health, recant my mistakes, or make a very *sensible reply*. I know how to treat gentlemen and scholars, and how to be treated by them. But to people of *coarse manners* and *indecent language*, (which of all things is my aversion) I declare my intentions of not being at leisure to regard them, or take the least notice of such *poultry scabs*, *porter-like puppies*, *newgate scrubs*, *pinaps* and *solicitors*, who have neither the breeding or language of gentlemen.

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Hibernia Pacata :

O R, A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Affairs of IRELAND,

FROM THE

Famous Battle of CLONTARF, where
BRIAN BOIROM defeated the NORWEGIANS,
till the Settlement under HENRY II.

Written Originally in IRISH,

And now First Translated by FA-
THER NERI of *Tuam*,

AND

Adorned with Notes by several Hands.

Printed in the Year, 1753.

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Hibernia Pacata :
OR, A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
Affairs of IRELAND.



HERE never was a Kingdom so extensive and populous, of such early Eminence in Learning and Commerce, so little known in History, or so little enquired after as *Ireland*. We were a considerable People in the Times of *Tacitus*, who attended his Father-in-law

Julius Agricola in his expedition to *Britain*, who expressly says, * “ *Ireland* had better “ *Commerce* and was more civilized than “ *Britain*.” From thence to *Henry* the Second we count all to be fabulous, and know little more of ourselves, than that Saint *Patrick* converted us to Christianity; and the Accounts of *Henry’s* uniting *Ireland* to his *British* Dominions, and the Settlement he made, seems, if we consult only *Keating* and our own Historians, to be the Work of a few Adventurers. It looks in them like a *Rehearsal* Revolution, and the Throne of *Ireland* as easily ascended by that Prince, as that of the *Brentford Kings* was by the *Gentleman Usber*. But surely many secret Wheels must have been at work, and latent Causes to effect it, and reduce so many petty Princes to the sole Government of one. Kingdoms are not so easily transferred as speculative Politicians imagine, and the little Kingdom of *Corfica* has

* Vide *Cambden’s Britannia*.

has given all the Potentates of *Europe*, a Bone too hard to be picked.

I imagine it may be agreeable to the Curious in Antiquity, as well as serviceable to the present Generation, to have a clear Insight of the particular Transactions of that Period of Time, consisting only of twenty Years, before the Union of *Ireland* with *England* was attempted, when the Chiefs of *Ireland* united themselves under *Brian*, and restored Tranquillity to their Country.

THE Chiefs of *Ireland* were more than three hundred; but those of most Authority were the Chiefs of *Munster*, *Ophaly* and *Connaught*; of *Ulster* and *Meath* *.

WE are indebted for this Period of History, to the Curiosity, and singular Industry of

* *Meath* seems to have been an inconsiderable Chief, as Authors can't agree about his Name. *Cambden* calls him *Rorke*; *Keating*, *Malsoklin*; and *Milton* differs from both.

of Doctor *Godfrey*, who picked out of the Ruins of *Bermingham* Tower, an *Irish* Manuscript written by *Dermic Macshaglin*, a Relation (as he says himself) and Follower, to the *Royal* Family of *Opbaly*; and he seems to deserve the more Credit, as he was nearly Cotemporary with the Facts he relates, and does not spare his Friends when their Conduct was blameable.

ANNO † MXXXXXII, (for then the History begins,) *Magnus* King of *Norway* was in Possession of *Ireland* and the *British* Isles. He was a gracious Prince, and better beloved by his new Subjects, than any Predecessor of their *Native Line*, for his Bravery and Love of Justice. He fought their Battles abroad, and victory still followed his Person. He quelled their intestine Conspiracies, and guarded their Rights and Properties. He was the only Prince in the Memory

† There is a small Anachronism here of eighteen Years; but that is a trifle among *Irish* Historians. Our Author, however, is more exact than *Keating*.

mory of Time, who observed a *Stipulation* always made, and before always broken through, (viz.) not to be directed by his *Natal Subjects*, in the Government of those who had put themselves under him. He had the Love of his *British* Subjects, but the Adoration of his *Irish*, who had prospered more under his equal Government in a few Years, than in any Century before.

TOWARDS the twentieth Year of his Reign some of the *Norwegians*, who had settled in *Ireland*, and got great Possessions, seemed to be out of Humour with their own Prosperity, or at least upon the Ruins of *Ireland*, intended to build up for themselves a mighty Fortune, and great Power in their Mother Country. To this Ambition they would sacrifice the Interests of *Norway* in *Ireland*, as well as injure his Affairs at Home. The *Waterford* Chiefs, (for they could hardly be called Princes) were the first that laid the Plan, and by sundry Arts drew in others to assist them, and under sundry Pretences concealed

cealed their main Design. *Brian* of *Munster* was first to be removed from the Power with which *Norway* had entrusted him, ere they could expect their Enterprize to prosper. He had given such Proofs of his Integrity in the Course of his Administration, and equal Regard to his Master's general Interest, as well as that of his Subjects, that he was said to be the first who had united *Patriotism* and *Loyalty* together; and they well knew would be the last to comply with Schemes that should lessen the Affections of his Master's Subjects, or any Way diminish his Power in *Ireland*. To have him removed then, was the first Effort to be made, and they had often times made it but in vain; and found by Experience there was no Way to compass it, but by the Help of the *Vice-Roy* sent over every third Year from *Norway*. That too they had often tried in vain; for *Brien* had made the Government of every *Vice-Roy* easy; and as the Demands of *Norway* were always reasonable, secured him any Tribute he wanted for supporting his Govern-

Government, and of himself defeated any Party would oppose it, without calling in the *Vice-Roy* to his aid, or rendering him obnoxious to any of his Master's Subjects.

In the Year above mentioned it unfortunately happened for the Interests both of *Ireland* and *Norway*, that the *Vice-Roy* was prevailed on to join in the Design of removing *Brian*, and assist with all his Power the Chiefs of *Waterford*. The *Vice-Roy* was esteemed a Man of *Probity* and Honour, but Good-natured to a Fault, and too indulgent to his Favourites.

* *Galesius*, a Foreigner, supposed to be an *Italian*, was a little before *secularised*, and by the

B

Vice-Roy

* Our Author here has fallen into two Mistakes. *Galesius* is not said to be an *Italian* by any Author of credit, but it was the Fashion then to give Men *Italian* Names, as the *Germans* now give *Latin* Names to the *English*. In the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earl of *Stairs* is stiled *Comes de gradibus*. Again, there was no need of *Secularizing* the

Vice-Roy advanced to the See of *St. Patrick*. He had nothing about him of the Churchman but his Drefs, and a large Share of their temporal Ambition. *Brian's* Power was a Goad in his Side, and his Reputation a Thorn in his Eye: He made a League with the *Vice-Roy's* Son, who was a haughty and a headlong Youth, to make him jealous of his Councillors, and delegate, in a manner, his whole Power to themselves, which they used as Men always do, who start into station, and become giddy with their Fortune. They put themselves at the Head of the Confederacy against *Brian*, and by large Promises and small Benefits, got over some of his Troops to join them; among whom were reckoned his Nephew, one of the petty Chiefs of *Leix*, and others whom he had raised from nothing, by covering their littleness, and suffering them to grow under the Shadow

the *Prelate* in question, as he had never been among the *Regulars* in his Life. In *Cambden* there is another *Galefus* just 100 Years after.

Shadow of his Wing ; from a Perswasion they would answer his Expectations, be loyal to their King, and faithful to their Country. However their new Masters were but little strengthened by the Desertion, which only served to swell their Vanity and betray their Weakness ; and judging their Forces to be stronger than they were, they * challenged *Brian* to a pitched Battle (called the Battle of *Clontarf*) where they suffered a total Defeat on the fifth and sixth of *March*, 1052.

The Issue of this Battle gave a Check to the Ambition of the *Waterford* Chiefs, and dismayed their Auxiliaries. They lost all Heart for the present, and their Troops could not be brought up to face the Enemy again, or even to wear a good Countenance : They retired into Quarters with their shattered Re-

B 2

mains,

* It was the Custom of the Times to appoint the Place and Time of fighting ; and we find the Chief of *Munster* challenging *Roderick* of *Connaught* to meet him on a certain Day, which *Roderick* desired he would put off for a Month, till he had called his Forces together, and had his Son Christened. See *Keating*, Ann. 1018.

mains, and the *Vice-Roy* and his Son returned home, disgusted with the Defeat they had sustained, and intent on a Reinforcement for another Campaign. Their Retreat was shabby, and had been quite ridiculous, if *Brian* had not covered it thro' Excess of Generosity, and protected them from the Banter of the † Commons, as they departed.

When they got home the young Man bestirred himself notably, in decrying the Conduct of *Brian*, and extolling the Power of *Galefus*. He sent one Courier on the back of another to *Ireland*, to notify his Success in getting larger Powers from *Norway* against next Year; and *Galefus* sent as many to him, to magnify the Alliances he was daily making among the *Irish* Chiefs, and the mighty Recruits

† I remember but one other Instance of an Army in this ridiculous Situation; When the young *Chevalier* came to *Derby*, his Army was *Mobb'd*, or, as our Author phrases it, *Banter'd by the Commons*,

Malsochlin was not present at the Battle, as *Keating* supposes; but at the second, fought two Years after near *Dublin*. See *Cambrensis*.

cruits he was raising, what * Honours were paid to him and his Friends all over *Ireland*, and how strangely they were beloved by the People (who, by the way, were laughing at them, and the mountebank Arts they had recourse to) how *Brian* was fallen in the Esteem of all Men since they perceived neither he or his Friends were to expect any Favours from *Norway*. But the Event will shew how *Brian* stood in their Esteem, and disclose a Scene, where the Actors in it adhered to him and the Interests of their King, and could not be brought over by the hopes of getting or the fears of losing, to join *those who were setting up an Interest distinct from his*, and lavishing his Tribute to make Friends for themselves, and pave the way to an exorbitant Power. And the Success they boasted, in recruiting, was disproved by themselves in the advanced Price of listing Money they offered for Volunteers, and the arbitrary

Press

* They were mostly *Spain* Honours, and always bought, according to *Giraldus* and the *Polychronicon*.

Press they sent out to all Parts of *Ireland* where their Influence reached, or their Menaces were feared †.

GALESIUS gave out that the *Vice-Roy* was returning with full Powers from *Magnus* to cashier all Officers, whether *Irish* or *Norwegian*, who should dispute the Orders of his Son, or hesitate on the Measures he proposed. This was doubted, but whether true or false, the Declaration laid open the Schemes of the Party, and their Designs were now obvious to all Men. Their haughty Carriage and precipitate Proceedings, their Strains of Power and Strides to Authority, carried absolute Conviction of the Plan they were forming to get all Power in their Hands, and exclude all
but

† It is said in the *Polychronicon* that the *Waterford* Chiefs got cashiered all small Officers employed in collecting the Tribute who would not arm on their Side. And *Giraldus* says, that *Galesius* excommunicated *Brian* and all his Adherents, and granted Indulgences for all Sins but Fornication, to all who opposed him, for the Space of fifty Years. Be this last as it will, the *Polychronicon* may be depended on.

but their own Junto from any Share in Government, or any Power and Interest in their respective Countries.

To effect and secure their Design, they had been hatching a Scheme as nonsensical as wicked; which, if practicable, must in the End prove as ruinous to *Norway* and his Interests, both at Home and in *Ireland*, as for the present it might be profitable to the Undertakers: It consisted in this, to get *Ireland* made a Province of *Norway* by Way of *Union* and governed by Laws made there.

* That is, in plain Terms, to make *Ireland* the Property of a few Men, who were to live in *Norway* in Pomp and Power, and become great, by bringing to nothing every Interest and Property they left behind them.

THEY

* Our Author in this Place seems to reason well; for tho' we have a recent Instance of an *Union* producing good Effects, I mean, uniting the Kingdom of *Kerry* last Year with that of *Cork*, by a long Causeway, yet in general they don't answer; and ever since *Norway* became united with *Denmark* they have both been on the Decline.

THEY were joined by several in *Ireland* on sundry Motives; and it must be owned the *Norwegians* came latest into the Scheme, as it was not their own Invention; it was agreeable to all who neither had, or were like to have any Possessions there. The *Brehons* and *Tanists*, who dispensed the Laws of *Ireland*, were rejoiced on the Prospect of being set free from all Inspection or Authority of the *Irish* Chiefs, which only restrained them from doing what they listed; the Military, the Secular Priests, and all Orders of holy Church were supposed to be ready to embrace it; but particularly the *Prelates*,* by the Influence of *Galesius*, and a false Prospect of temporal Power, were brought into it.

BUT before this *Union* could be brought about, it was necessary first, to lay a perpetual Cess on all the Cantreds of *Ireland* by the

* The *Prelates* had only one Doubt, (viz.) whether they should be called *my Lord* if the Scheme took. This was Problematick.

the Consent and Concurrence of all the *Irish* Chiefs. This was a Thing very difficult to be compassed. It was hard to persuade Men to give themselves away when there was no Occasion; * and to buy them out and out, would take a mighty Purchase, and perhaps afterwards not stand to the Bargain. The small Pittances *Galefius* procured for the Sons and Cousins of the *Irish* Chiefs in order to bring them to his Side, were too scanty to have any great Effect, and disoblged his own Party more than they gained the other. There was but one Way, and nothing less would do, (*viz.*) getting the Disposal of the Tribute had been laid up for the Support of *Magnus's* Government, and to discharge the Debts the Chiefs had engaged to make good. When they had this in their Power, they hoped either to bring over the present Chiefs, or if they proved obstinate, to raise up a new Set

C of

* This puts one in mind of the Story of *Jack*, who was persuaded to hang himself, by huge Promises of being bettered by the Experiment.

of Chiefs who should be obedient to their Will.

WHILE *Brian* was in Power, the first Attempt they knew would prove abortive, and to break his Power by the second Attempt would be dangerous, and they had Reason to fear, would give it greater Strength, and make them odious to all the Body of the People, both in *Ireland* and *Norway*. So to bring over the present Chiefs * was their avowed Undertaking; and at last they resolved to tamper with the small Ones, *Galefus* having found, on founding the Chiefs of *Ophaly* and *Connaught*, that Nothing was to be expected from the Principals. But their Haste proved their undoing, and their Offers and barefaced Projects, alienated, instead of reconciling, even those who were already in their Power. They all saw now, it was no Time to trifle. Those
among

* Among the petty Chiefs were Eleven, entirely at the Mercy of the *Norwegians*, who nevertheless begged to be excused.

among the Chiefs who had joined with them on personal Piques against *Brian*, saw it was high Time to forget their Resentments. Those who had concurred with them in lesser Points for private interest, and from a Persuasion that their Intentions were not so bad as was suggested, saw their mistake, and the fatal Measures were on Foot. Those who had joined them to get some increase of Power, and top their next Neighbours, saw they were giving up irrecoverably, all Power, and the Influence that naturally belonged to them in their respective Districts. In a Word, all the Chiefs in every District of *Ireland*, who had Sense to see, or a Desire to avert the Dangers hanging over them, united as one Man under the Conduct of *Brian*.

It was vain to intimidate them with Suggestions or Threatnings, of bringing on themselves the Displeasure of *Magnus*; they knew well, it was none of his doing, but, on the contrary, that he was displeased with the

Measures that were taken, and the Arts had been used to misrepresent his People, whose Lives * and Fortunes he knew were at his Disposal.

THE Crisis was now at Hand, and the Fate of *Ireland* to be determined. All was to be staked on the Event of a second Battle, if *Galefus* and his Friends were hardy enough to attempt it: And attempt they did, though much wondered at, if their Promises proved true of getting Aid from *Norway*, the Event will soon shew. If the *Irish* Chiefs were not already certain of Success, they had such Omens on their Side as promised fair to ensure it. All People in *Ireland* who had Possessions, were mostly on their Side; and all People in *Norway* who had Possessions there, would hardly be mad enough to be against them.

AMONG

* They had frequently offered him their Lives and Fortunes, but I don't find he ever took either. But one of his Predecessors took away both.

AMONG the petty Chiefs on the other Side, were many not satisfied with their Leaders. *Galefus* was unexperienced and too much of the Undertaker, and his Friends observed he had been generally mistaken in what he predicted, to say nothing of what he asserted. The *Waterford* Chiefs were unbeloved by the People Abroad, if not at Home, and the petty Chiefs of *Leix* were not beloved either at Home or Abroad. The *Vice-Roy's* Son was too spirited and sanguine, and too fond § of Action, though he had always been defeated, which lessened him in the Confidence of his own Party, and made him somewhat ridiculous to the other.

He brought over with him from *Norway* for their second Engagement, a young Commander of great Note and Ability, who had every

§ It appears in the *Chronicon*, that he once attacked a formed Army with Six Men, like *Mentzel* in the last War; who went up to the *French* Camp only with a few *Hussars*, and turning his Posteriors bid them kiss his A—c.

every Quality to render him popular in the Army, and by no Means inconsiderable in Councils of War. His Fame (though needlessly) was previously trumpeted, and he was ridiculously to be opposed to an *Irish* Chief, who had ten Times his Experience, and had never been defeated. But the *Norwegian* † (if he was one) was too wise to stake his Reputation on a forced Expedition, or hazard, on a chimerical Project, the Fortunes of his Family, who had fairer Possessions in *Ireland* than in *Norway*, and which had often served to retrieve them, when their Affairs were desperate at Home.

But on the Side of *Brian* all were unanimous; they had no Distrust of one another or any Apprehension of being defeated, as for twenty Years he had always led them to a sure, if not an easy, Victory. He had never undertaken

† This Commander, whoever he was, had the Place of his Birth disputed, but one Thing appears from cotemporary Writers, that it was an Honour to any Country to have given him Birth.

undertaken any Thing desperate, and conquered by Acting on the defensive. In a Word, they relied so unreservedly on his Prudence, and had so entire a Confidence in his Integrity, that he was above the Necessity of declaring his Designs, or testifying his Measures.

IN these Dispositions both Sides rendezvouzed, and agreed to meet the 9th of *October* 1053, on a Green near the Suburbs of *Dublin*. They took Care on both Sides to have their Complements full, only some of *Brian's* Troops were intercepted by an Ambush, and others detained, who had relied too much on the Faith of Treaties.

WHEN they had taken their Ground, and reconoitred each other † * * * * *

† Here the Parchment is rusted by the old Wall where it lay; but as Doctor *Godfrey* has undertaken to boil it, after a few Months exposing to the open Air, the Characters will be legible again.

F I N I S.

understand any thing of the matter and that
they were not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they were not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they were not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they were not to be trusted on the subject of it

It is well known that the people of
this country are not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they are not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they are not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they are not to be trusted on the subject of it
and that they are not to be trusted on the subject of it

When they find that their country is
in danger they will not be trusted on the subject of it

Have the people of this country been
in danger of being taken away from them by the
people of this country? No, they have not.

THE END



THE TRUE

L I F E

O F

Betty IRELAND.



[Price a *British* Sixpence.]

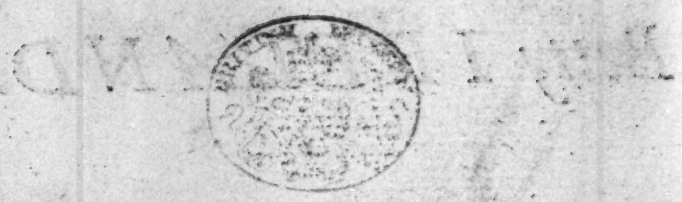
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STORY

OF



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THE TRUE
L I F E
O F
Betty IRELAND.

WITH
Her BIRTH, EDUCATION, and
ADVENTURES.

Together with
Some Account of her elder Sister *BLANCH*
of *BRITAIN.*

Containing,
Sundry very curious Particulars.



LONDON, Printed:
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THE TRUE
L I F E
O F
Betty IRELAND.

IT is agreed on all Hands, that *Betty Ireland* was a younger Daughter by a *second Venter*; let, at first, to run wild in the Woods, cloathed with Skins and fed with Acorns; till a *famous Hunter* took her in his Toils, and, liking her Countenance, gave her to

a Son of his, a *Lad*, to bring up. The *Girl* was born to a good Estate, but ill tenanted, and run to waste. Her *Farms* neither *meared* or bounded, her Rents never paid, as she had no *certain* Tenants, and had little more to claim than a Pepper-corn Acknowledgment. She had no Relation to manage her *Demefnes*, and could hardly be said to be possessed of any thing.

IN this Condition the young *Sportsman* found her, was fond of her at first, and resolved to marry her; and *happy* had it been both for *him* and *her*, if he had kept his Resolution, and performed the *Contract*. But he hankered after his elder Brother's *Estate*, and, on his Death, suddenly got the Tenants to *attorn* to *him*, and basely dispossessed his *Nephew*. But instead of an *Estate*, he got nothing but a *Law-suit*, lived in *Broils*, and dyed a *Beggar*. Whereas had he quitted all Pretensions at home, married *Betty* and minded her Concerns, he had soon been in a Condition not to envy his

Brother;

Brother ; and, perhaps, had left a *second Family* little inferior in *Greatness* to the first.

THIS was the only Chance ever *Betty* had to make a *separate* Fortune, set up for herself, and be *independent* of her *Sister*. She was ever after *beholden* to her for maintaining her *Rights*, settling her *Affairs*, and bringing her *Tenants* to Reason.

NEITHER *Betty* or her *Sister* were yet of Age, but the Younger far from it, and continued under such *Guardians*, as the *Elder* recommended, and had chosen for herself. It was natural to think they should chiefly be employed in ordering the *Affairs* of *Blanch*, and be less attentive to benefit the other. Accordingly, from time to time, they sent *Proxies*, to let Leases, keep her *Courts*, and force Possession, where the *Tenants* held over. Little, however, was done for *Betty*, though they put her *Sister* to great Charges ; nor did she thrive in the World to any Purpose, 'till she came under the Care of a good *orderly Gentlewoman*,
who

who was also *Guardian* to *Blanch*, a notable *Manager*, and very affectionate to her *Wards*, understood their Business to a hair, and was never to be imposed on or *over-reached*. Every thing she put her hand to prospered, and every thing against her miscarried.

WHEN she first looked into *Betty's* Affairs, she found them in a manner desperate; her small Revenues had been embezzled by *Agents*, Farms set to *insolvent* Tenants, *double* Leases made out, huge *Fines* taken in Hand and sunk in their own Pockets. She was preyed upon by Vagabonds and *Outlaws*; and, to compleat her Misfortunes, a *Foreign Count* fell in love with her, an odious Monster and *braggadocio* Huffer. He swore bitterly no one else should have her, and to support his Claim, brought in his Pocket, a *pretended Licence* from the *Spiritual Court*, and a Pack of *outlandish* *Goths* along with him, to take Possession of her Freehold, and break down her Gates. But her *Sister* generously came in to her Assistance, repelled Force by Force, and rescued her from a Tyrant Ravisher,

built

built Houses for herself, and Fences for the Tenants, and left some of her own People with her to instruct them in Trades and Husbandry.

SHE was then, it might be thought, in a Way of making herself respected, both by her own and her *Sister's* Tenants, and not stand in need of any more Supplies from them ; and if the *good Woman*, her guardian, had lived to bring Matters to any Kind of Establishment, Things had been better. But she unfortunately died, more, however, to her *Sister's* Disadvantage than *hers* ; for the *Guardian* had chalked out a Track of Proceeding for *Betty*, which she could hardly miss to follow. The *Elder*, however, was inconsolable for the Loss of her *Guardian*, and resolved, for the future, to manage her Concerns by the Assistance of a *Steward*, a Sort of a Cousin to her *Guardian* deceased, but no way allied to her, in Worth or Understanding. He minded nothing but Hunting and *Puppet-shows*, Feasts and Revels ; and though the uncomeliest of an *ill-favoured Race*, spent his

B

Lady's

Lady's Money in adorning his own Person, instead of *fencing* her Grounds. He was laughed at by one half of the Neighbours, and despised and gulled by the other. In a Word, he was every Way unfit for the Charge.

HIS Son succeeded to the Place ; he was a grave-looking, orderly young Man, main religious, and skilled in the *Customs of the Manor*. Both the Sisters had great Hopes their Affairs would thrive under his Management. *Betty's*, indeed, went on well for a while ; but, in the End, both of them had Cause to complain, and curse the Day they had bethought them of employing a *Steward* in their Concerns. He was not so great a Fool as his Father ; yet nothing he put his Hand to succeeded. He was *bubbled* by every *Neighbour* he dealt with, and choused by every *Tenant* he trusted. His Word could never be relied on, as he had always some quibble to evade it. His Wife made him hated by the Tenants ; and for a finishing Stroke to his undoing, and compleat the Ruin of his *Wards*, he pretended the *Steward* had a Right

to hold Courts without *Juries*, and by his own Authority levy Money for *Repairs*. The Tenants would not endure this Invasion on their Rights, but stoutly opposed it ; and, after a hard Struggle, got the better, turned him out of the *Stewardship*, and some of them finding him one Day at a *why-not*, tied him to a Rope, and hanged him in a Frolick.

THE Office of a *Steward* was now abolished for a Time, and the elder *Sister* resolved to take her Affairs entirely into her *own Hands*, and have neither *Steward* or *Guardian* for the future. The Condition, indeed, of *both* was deplorable. There had been nothing during the *late Quarrel*, but Riot and Plunder, Rents unpaid, and Soldiers quartered at Discretion ; so that, in order to retrieve their Affairs, it seemed necessary to put things on a *new Footing*, and trust none but themselves to manage them. But whatever they intended mattered but little.

AMONG the Soldiers quartered on them was a bustling Knave, who from a Corporal had

come to be a Captain. He was bold as a Lion, and *crafty* as a Fox. He had cajoled his Soldiers to stand by him ; and pretending *Compassion* for the Sisters, offered, or rather forced himself, to be their *Guardian*. They only complied because they could not help it ; and he took more *rule* over them, than ever *Steward* or *Guardian* had done before him.

HE seemed, indeed, to mend Matters in the Beginning, but, in reality, did *unrepairable* Damage to *Blanch*, though considerable Services to *Betty*. The Neighbours all around thought they were thriving apace, and began to envy their Greatness. The Reason of which was, that he always took care to have the *Girls* well dressed, especially when they went a *visiting*, and sent Word before-hand (for he was d----d proud) that all the World should *Cap* to them as they passed along. He stinted them in every thing else, but *spent* all he could *rap* and *run* to make them *fine*. *Betty* was *bashful*, and kept pretty much at home ; but when *Blanch* went *abroad*, she made a *flaming* Appearance, held
up

up her Head among the *Higbest*, and insulted the *Proudest* with her *Braveries*.

But all the while Things were but *uncomfortable* at home, though she made such a *tearing Figure* when abroad. Nothing to be had for Farms, by reason the Soldiers put *in* and *out* as they pleased. No *Leets* or *Manor Courts* were minded. No *taxing* for *Repairs* and *Bounds*, but the Soldiers *taxed* for *Contingencies* as much Money as they could hear any one had. So that the *Tenants* found themselves in a worse *Pickle* than ever they had been under the Management of a *Steward*. They longed for Courts and *Inquests*, and to have every thing set on the old Bottom again,

They heard of a *poor Boy*, a Son of the late *Steward's*, who had run away from the *Lands* the Time his Father was hanged, and was now grown up to Years of Discretion. As he had *bit* a good while on the Bridle, they thought he might be tamed, more careful than his *Father*, and do them more Justice and Kindness. They brought

brought him home in a *Hurry*; and, as it's natural to run from one Extreme to another, were sure they were all *made* when they got him into the *Stewardship*.

It must be owned, he was a pleasant, good-humoured Fellow as ever broke Bread, civilly behaved, and by no means wanted Capacity for the Business. But he was *idle* to a Degree, followed W-----ng and Horse-racing; and provided he could borrow Money enough from the *Tenants*, or get *Presents* from the *Neighbours*, to treat his Wenches and buy them *Top-knots*, never heeded how *Accounts* were settled, how he held the *Courts*, or how he paid the Servants. Farm-houses went to decay, and Strangers forestalled the Markets. Few People, however, could find in their Heart to hate him. They had a Love for him, though he was daily undoing them: For it was always *their Humour* to like a *boon Companion*; and instead of crossing his Prodigality, they followed his Example, wh----ed it away from the highest to the lowest, revelled and caroused for *dear Blood*, and were
never

never better pleased than when the last Penny was a going. It became a *Fashion* to be Bankrupt; to be Rich, was to lose all Credit; and to be Just, was the Mark of a Scoundrel.

BUT though the *elder Sister* was well-nigh undone by him, he did a good Turn by *Betty*, and sent one of his *Cousins* to take care of her Concerns, who had a good Farm of his own under her, and was well-beloved over the whole Estate. He kept *Leet* and *Court-Baron*, presented Vagabonds at the Sessions, and gave Rewards for apprehending *Out-laws*. He set the Tenants to Work, *lived constantly among them*, and looked himself into every thing. *Betty* began to thrive, and was less expensive to her *Sister*, who had wasted huge Sums to keep her Head above Water. She stuck to Business, and prospered mainly, 'till the *Steward's* Brother got himself into the Place, who played H---ll with every thing, and brought the two Sisters to the Brink of Ruin.

He

HE was rash, senseless, obstinate, and ill-minded ; none of the Neighbours would deal with him, or the *Tenants* trust him, as there was no believing one Word he said, or promise that he made ; for he had taken an Oath when he was young never to speak Truth. He began his Vagaries by putting the *Curate* in the *Stocks*, for refusing to teach a new *Catechism* of his own *Invention*. He entered into a Plot to secure the *Elder Sister* in the House of Correction, and make her do Penance in the Church, under Pretence of Carnal Conversation. He agreed to sell *Betty* to a Cousin of his, a great Lord in the Neighbourhood, who longed to have her for a Waiting-woman to his Wife. So the *Tenants* made short Work with him, rose one and all, and sent him a-packing to his Cousin, where he was fain to be a Serving-man, since he could not send *Betty* to be a Serving-maid.

BOTH the *Sisters* took an Oath never more to have a *Steward* again, and to abolish the very Name from among them, with a reserve to his Daughters,

Daughters, who had married abroad, and were good sort of Women, in their Way.

HERE it was that *both the Sisters* had their Affairs put on a sure and lasting Footing. The Rights of the *Tenants* were narrowly examined, and all pretended Powers of the Steward abolished by a Rule on the *Court Manor* Books. There was, indeed, some Difficulty in bringing it about, and a power of Money laid out on the Occasion. But it was well bestowed had it been twice as much.

THERE was a *Stripling* among the neighbouring *Fens*, who had married a Daughter of the *Steward's*, and had got the best Estate there by the Diligence of his *Ancestors*, who were the principal *Engineers* in *draining* and *banking* the Country. They had often borrowed Money from *Blanch* to carry on the Work, to *stem* the Water when the *Fen-men* were in despair, and prevailed on her to send a strong *Posse* of her *Tenants* to keep off some malicious Neighbours, who would ever and anon be *boring*

Holes in the *Dikes*, and endangered the Overflowing of all the Land they had gained. If ever these *wretched People* shewed any thing that looked like *Gratitude*, it was to the Family of their *Engineers*; and this young Man improved it to his own Advantage, and that of *Blanch*, whom he acknowledged the Preserver of the *Fen-men*, who deserved Preservation on no other Account than to make them *Pack-horses* and *Carriers*. They were, indeed, a middle Species between Men and Brutes, and chiefly compounded of the latter. But this young *Adventurer* had got the Ascendant over them, and, as we ordinarily say of vicious Horses, had made the D----l come out of them. He *ringed* them by the Nose, and *bled* them with the *Spur*, and so thoroughly *broke* them (for he was a special Horseman) that they never kicked or plunged when he was *in the Saddle*; but, as the Nature of Beasts is, became the fonder of him the rougher he handled them.

WHEN he understood that *Blanch* and her *Sister* were so hampered and *Tyrannically* treated
by

by the *Steward*, he came to their Assistance, supplied them with Money, which he raised from the *Fen-men*, and fairly set them free from his Oppression and Rapine, reversed his *Grants*, cancelled his sham Leases, restored Possessions, *Leets* and *Manor-Courts*, made up *Fences* for the Tenants, and so strongly secured their *Copyholds*, that there is no likelihood they will ever be *ousted* or much *disturbed* again. And, to crown all the Services he had done the two Sisters, he *recommended* them, before he parted, to the Care of a *neighbouring Lord*, a Cousin of his own, and a *right honest Man*, who proved a Father to *them* and their People, defended their *Rights*, and secured their *Properties*.

AND yet *Blanch* could never rightly like the *Fen-man*, as she called him, though he had done so much for her. She could not comport herself with his Manners and his Humour, hated the Servants he brought with him, complained they were too costly to her, though she kept them sparingly, and even quarrelled (so

exceptionous are Women) to the Cut of their Cloaths, and the Colour of their *Liveries*.

BUT *Betty Ireland* had more Gratitude than her *Sister*, adored him while he staid with her, and to this Day *remembers* him as her *great Deliverer*, the Protector of her Life, and the Founder of her Fortune.

SHE, indeed, had double Obligations, as her Condition was more helpless than her *Sister's*, and she had more severely felt the *Tyranny* of the *Steward*, who, because she could not so readily complain of him, had first *stripped* her of all she had, and then sold her to Bondage. But both *Sisters* ought surely to reflect, that all the Happiness, and all the Security they have since enjoyed, has been owing to the *Friendships* he procured them, when he put them under the Protection of *his Cousins*; and that he has effectually banished the *Stewards* thereby, who would doubtless otherwise be meddling with their Affairs, and use them worse than ever they did before,

before, as coming *in without Leave*, they would act without Controul.

BUT maugre all these Considerations, *Blanch* was glad when he left her, and ready to leap out of her Skin for joy. She thought of nothing but Diversions, spent her *Time* and *Money* in *visiting* and *dresssing*, ransacked the Globe to set off her Person, and, it must be owned, she never looked handsomer in her Life. Wherever she went, she was adored as an Angel, surrounded by admiring Throngs, and Thousands hanging on her *Look*.

BUT all this was empty Pageantry and too expensive Glory. She ran herself in Debt to uphold this Appearance, mortgaged her *Estate*, and bartered her *Stock*, for the vain Applause of flattering Knaves, and scoundrel *Tradesmen*. It was Time to pull in, and keep a Hank in the Hand. She saw her Folly, and doffed her *Gear*. It was better *go plain* than run in Debt for Finery ; and enough she had to do to pay the Debts she had contracted in her *Fit of Vanity*.

BETTY

BETTY all the while was minding Business at home, and her Affairs prospered amain. Her *Tenants* became industrious, and her *Estate* improved; yet she never thought herself sufficiently *secure* till she got under the new *Protection* her *Deliverer* had provided. Her Situation is particular. She has a strange Mixture of People on her Estate, who are always at Daggers drawing with one another, and a mighty Hindrance to her Business. They are *Whites*, *Blacks*, and *Black and White*. The *Whites* only are allowed to be *Land-holders*; but the *last*, by hiding half the Face when they converse with her, pass for *Whites*, and make good their *Titles*. The first are dreadfully maligned by the *Blacks*, who are unhappily the more numerous, lay old Claims to her *Lands*, and are ever watching for an Opportunity to make a *Riot*, and take forcible Possession. 'Till now they were too much favoured by her *Sister*, which checked the Industry of her Farmers.

BUT

BUT when they found they had nothing to fear, either at home or abroad, they began in earnest to improve *their Concerns*, as they were sure they were working for themselves, and in no Danger of being dispossessed, by Virtue of *chimerical Claims*, and *Antediluvian Proprietors*.

THE *Blacks*, indeed, immediately made a Riot on this new Settlement, but could not get Possession; and, lately, a young *Jackanapes* pretended a *Right* to be *Steward* to *both Sisters*, by Virtue of a *Patent* he had got from the last *Steward*, as if he had a *Right* to dispose of a *Place* he had been turned out of himself. He came on the Lands, however, with a *bloody-minded Crew* of *skirtless Vagabonds*, drove off the Cattle, robbed the *Hen-roosts*, and *swaggered* at so *unmerciful* a Rate, that *Blanch* was frightened out of her Senses, and was fain to send for a Dram of *Gin* to restore her Spirits. But if she was frightened, her *Guardian* was not, and had a *Montb's Mind* to find out the *Varlet* in Person, and tread him under his Feet. But

as he could not leave the *Hall-house* where the *Court* was sitting, he sent a *Lad* of his own to take Account of him, who did the *Business* tightly. He was a *well-mettled Blade*, and *Steel* to the *Back*. He came up with him at the Corner of a Farmer's Yard, where he gave him and his *Desperados* a wofull Drubbing, kicked him i'the A----e, *soused* him in the *Horse-pond*, which he swam over to save his Bacon, and looked so miserably scared in his Passage, that it's sure he'll never *try the Ford* again.

FOR a good while before this Alarm happened (which proved nothing but a *Bugbear*) both the *Sisters* had a fair Opportunity of minding their Concerns, and getting above the World. *Blanch* might have paid her Debts, and had Money to the fore; but it was ever her Misfortune to be *ill-served* by almost all she employed. Never, sure, had Lady so *unbandy* a Pack about her, and, indeed, it was impossible it could well be otherwise; for she did not chuse her *Servants* because they were *fit* for this, or that *Office*, but because they asked, and would have it, or be
horribly

horribly out of Humour else, would make a Noise and *Uproar* at every *Court-Leet*, terrify the *Tenants* at every *Ale-house*, with strange Stories of Designs on their *Copy-holds*, and wicked *Plots* just ready to begin; 'till they turned their Heads, and set them madding. So that the poor Lady was fain to *take them in*, to keep Peace at Home, and to pay them Wages for not doing her Business. The Consequence of which was, she had *Clerks* could neither write or read; Book, and Cash-keepers, that could not *count* or cast up, or ever heard of a *Ballance* in their Lives. And so ridiculous was her Compliance in this Point, that she had once a Lady to curry her Horse, and a *Fishmonger* for a *Grass Bailiff*.

'Tis true, she would often change her Servants, but not a *Barrel the better Herring*. If she got one, by chance, knew any thing of his Business, the *rest* never left boddering her 'till they had him out. It should never be said they demeaned themselves so much as to serve with one, who would spoil every thing by his *Rash-*

D
ness,

ness, and disgrace the Service by his *Ignorance*. Now, by *Rashness* they meant *resenting Insults* and *Injuries* done their Lady; and by *Ignorance*, not knowing how to *buy* and *sell*, and live by the *Loss*. So that, all Things considered, it were a Marvel her Affairs should be in better Plight than they are, or her Debts be paid with more Ease and Expedition.

BETTY, in the mean time, is come to an opulent Fortune, has her Rents well paid, and her Farms daily improving, and would improve ten times more, if her *Sister* could see her own Advantage so far, as to give her that Encouragement she is daily giving to *Strangers*, who give her nothing in Return but their Envy and Ill-will. But as it is, *Betty's* in a good Way, and makes the most of a bad Market. And since she must not work for her *Sister*, she works for herself.

It had been a Custom of hers to buy every thing she wanted from her *Sister's Tenants* and *Tradesmen*, though they used her abominably,
and

and put off upon her the worst Goods they had. If the Farmer had damaged Hops, he sold them to *Betty Ireland*; if his Malt was blinked, away it went to her; and the *Pothecary* thought his decayed Drugs good enough for *Betty*, and instead of burning them, laid them by for her, as tho' she were not a Christian, or had the same In-fide as her Sister.

BETTY could not help this contemptuous Treatment, as she had nothing she wanted at Home, by reason of her Laziness, though all Materials in abundance were at hand. 'Tis incredible to relate, but, at the Time I am speaking of, certain Fact, on her whole Estate there was not one to be found could make a Buckle for her Shoe, or a Pin to her Sleeve; a Pot, a Spit, or any Utenfil to cook her Victuals, might as well be found among the *Tartars* as with her. She took every thing from her *Sister* at what Price she pleased, unsight unseen, and bought the *Pig in the Poke*. Necessity roused her from Stupidity and Sloth, she encouraged her Tenants to apply to Trades, af-

fured them of a ready Market, and rewarded those that did their Work the best; and, at present, has every thing within herself. And tho' it must be owned a very unreasonable, and *not to be endured* Instance of her Impudence, she proposes to dress in her own Manufactures, and does not mean to trouble her *Sister* any longer for *cast Cloaths* and *unmerchantable* commodities. But in every other Respect, she desires to keep up a good Correspondence with her, and is daily doing every thing in her Power, to gain her Favour, and procure her Regards. Whatever she can spare from her ordinary Expences, she, in some Shape or other, makes a Present of to her *Sister*, in Acknowledgement for Services done, and Kindnesses receiv'd in her *Minority*. Has *Blanch* a Favourite whom she cannot readily provide for, a poor Relation on hand, or Retainer to the Family, a broken Projector, or cast Serving-man; she has no more to do but acquaint *Betty* with it, who quickly puts him on a *creditable Pension*, and never refuses, though she run herself in Debt by it. Is *Blanch* engaged in a Brangle with her *Tenants*, (who, by the way, are cursedly litigious)

litigious) and hard put to it for Hands to do her Business, *Betty* makes an Offer of sending her People to help her, and maintaining them abroad at her own Charges. Does a Tenant of *Blanch* come to favour her with a Visit, she receives him with Hospitality and Respect, and would sacrifice her Fortune to make his Entertainment agreeable.

IF all this Complaisance should fail of its Effect, and not so succeed as to keep *Blanch* in good Humour, 'tis easy to say where the Fault must lie, and from what Causes her Discontents arise.

IN the first Place, it has ever been the Fate of her *Domesticks* to be invincibly hated by her *Tenants* without Difference or Distinction, (for, to say Truth, they have no Head for *Distingo's*;) There is but one Thing in the World they hate more, and that is *Betty Ireland*. Now, the *Servants* bear hard on *Betty*, to curry Favour with her Sister's *Tenants*, who would go half Way to the D---l to have *Betty* d---d, are for ever cursing her, and laying all their Misfortunes at her Door.

Door. If the *Clothier* loses his Business, or has his Goods on Hand, 'tis *all 'long* of *Betty*: Wheat bears no Price, for *Betty* has glutted the Market. Whereas, in Fact, they never keep the same Markets. But they forget, they are all so idle and debauched, such gobling and drinking Rascals, and so expensive in *blew Beer*, that they are forced to put a double Price on every thing goes to Market; so that no Body will deal with them. Indeed, if it incenses them, that *Betty* won't buy, burn her *own Goods* and take off *theirs*, they must e'en turn the Buckle behind. *Blanch* will be wiser, for her own sake, than lay Stresses on her *Sister*, from whom she gets more than *by all the World beside*, only to humour a Set of grumbling Churls, who don't know what they would be at; and so extremely senseless, that it's Matter of Wonder, their Oxen don't ride them to the Market, and sell them. 'Tis true, a *Linen-weaver*, one of *Blanch's* Tenants, prevailed on her lately to withdraw some Encouragement she had given *Betty*, and transfer it to a *Stranger*. But that was owing to bad Advice given her, by a *Clerk* she has since
turned

turned off, and sent a stroling among *Brandy-shops* and *Ale-houses*, to *backbite* his *Lady* for want of other Employment.

ANOTHER Cause of *Blanch's* Dislike to her *Sister* was, a Fright she took, when she was just *delivered*, at some ill-looking People, who came from *Betty's* Lands, and appeared under her Window. There's no doubt but *Blanch* has as much Courage as any genteel Lady ought to have, and must have been in a Fit of low Spirits when she, and all her Tenants from her, took so senseless an alarm, as to run distracted thro' Fear of half a Dozen Fellows cutting all their Throats in one Night, who were ready to run through Fire and Water for Fear of being hang'd themselves ; yet certain it is, from this ridiculous Incident, and from nothing else, can be derived, that universal Hatred shewn her by *Blanch's* Tenants, though they have never seen, spoken with, or had any Dealings whatever, either with *Betty* or her Tenants. People must be generous, as well as *brave*, to forgive those that frighten them.

THERE'S

THERE'S another Cause of Dislike among such as have Dealings with *Betty's* Tenants who come on Business, or to visit her *Sister*, that they run in debt with them, and don't pay. So do all their Neighbours, for that matter; but they complain of none but *Betty*, though it is very well known they make ample Reprisals on her; and *one Bite* of theirs, is worth a hundred of *Betty's*, who are none but such as are despised at home, and can get neither Credit or Company there; for *Betty* is not yet arrived to that Degree of Politeness, as to court and caress *Highway-men* and *Sharpers*, only because they keep good Company, and are Gentlemen of nice Honour, but sincerely wishes her *Sister* to hang them all.

THE last I shall mention (and, to be sure, a wise Cause of Dislike it is) *Betty* goes once, at least, every Year to pay her *Sister* a Visit, carries all her Money, puts on her best Cloaths, lives high as long as she has a Penny left. This vexes her *Sister*, and many a *Slut* and *Flirt* she calls

Betty,

Betty, at the very time she is throwing away her Money with both Hands for the Tradesmen and Shoeboys to scramble up. They are both Fools ; *One* for shewing this Contempt, and the other for putting herself in the Way of it.

It is wished, but probably in vain, that the two *Sisters* would come to a better Understanding. They that have considered the true Interest of both, see plainly that the *elder*, and consequently the *younger*, must be shortly undone, if these Bickerings and ill Offices continue. So *unnatural* a Quarrel between near Relations must make them despised by all the *Neighbours* around, who are hourly taking the Advantage of it, and *profiting* themselves by the Hindrance the *Sisters* give to each other. But their Manners and Disposition are so different, that it's next to impossible they should ever love one another ; tho', for mutual Interest, and to make that Figure in the Eye of the World which two *Ladies* of their Distinction and Fortune ought to assume, their Friends may agree to promote *jointly* their Interests, and never heed how peevish and untoward

either of them may be, or pay any Regard to the fanciful *Aversions*, and ungrounded Jealousies, which are always inseparable from a female Breast.

THO' in this History I have rather copied the chaste Brevity of *Cornelius Nepos*, than the diffused and chatty Eloquence of *Plutarch*; I shall conclude, in Imitation of the latter, with a Description of the two *Ladies*, their Persons, Manners, and Inclinations; and, in drawing the *Parallel*, with Freedom represent, their Vices as well as *Vertues*, their Faults as well as their Perfections.

BLANCH is by much the taller, neat, timberfome, and well made, a lively Look and a sprightly Air. *Betty's* Face is full out as handsome as her *Sister's*, tho' not so regular, has more variety and striking Beauties, and, with equal Dressing, would appear more lovely than the other; but she's a Slattern in her Dress.

As to their *Tempers*, *Pride* is the prevailing Passion of the first, and *Vanity* of the second;
from

from which naturally, and unavoidably arises, every observable Character of their Mind and Manners. *Blanch's* Pride makes her selfish and reserved, contemptuous, if not rough, in her Behaviour. *Betty's* Vanity makes her *open* and communicative, fond of *showing herself* on all Occasions, complaisant, and caressing, to a Degree of Flattery. As *Blanch* does not know what it is to have Love or Affection for any one but herself, so she expects it from no one, but claims a great deal of Respect. *Betty* doesn't know what Respect for her means, but to gain her Love and Liking would part with all she had. *Blanch* is frugal in the main, not very hospitable, and seldom lavish but in private Pleasures. *Betty* is hospitable to Prodigality, lavish to Folly, and thinks nothing a Pleasure that others don't share in. Hence it comes, that the first loves her Money above all things, the *second* less than any thing she has any value for at all; that one is anxious to *get*, the *other* in haste to *spend*. *Blanch* has a good Understanding, but does not *know the World*, and is commonly *cheated* by her Neighbours. *Betty* has no Opportunity of know-
ing

ing the World, as her *Sister* won't let her go much abroad or converse with the *Neighbours*; she has but little Experience, and, to be sure, is not very *wise*, but is the quickest in the World at finding out a *Fool*. The *elder* is *cautious*, and hides carefully every Fault she is conscious of; the *younger* is not conscious of any Fault of Folly whatever; so they all come out in her *communicative Fits*, which seize her as often as she gets a Stranger to talk to. *Blanch* is the more censorious, and *Betty* the greater Liar.

IF either of the *Ladies* think the Picture not like, let them call to mind the Story of a famous Painter, who had drawn the Portrait of a young Man, who stood very well with himself, but didn't please him. "You have drawn me, said he, "exactly the *Reverse* of every thing I am." *If it be so*, replied the Painter, *that must be your Likeness*, and set the Picture on the Head.

217:49

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T O

A BRITON.

S I R,

AT your request, and in pursuance of my promise, I have, with very great pains and trouble, consider'd, and corrected your Dedication to the D— of D—. In many places, your figures were too bold and glaring to admit of any alteration, without destroying the beauty of the whole; where this was the case, I chose to let your own words remain, and you will easily perceive, that I have, upon all occasions, varied them as little as possible, where a strict adherence to truth, and setting certain characters in a proper light, did not oblige me to it; and I have all along placed your very words in the opposite page, that my alterations may the more readily appear.

Your sketch of the present state of parties in the kingdom of *Ireland*, I found in many places defective, in many places most widely distant from truth; this, indeed, was hardly to be avoided, as you are a true *Briton*, and not very well acquainted with the affairs of that kingdom, and therefore obliged to take your materials from the ignorant or interested; these matters I have enlarged, and placed in their true light; and now you may venture to lay them at his G—— feet, and safely stake your whole credit upon the truth of them.

I have not leisure, at this time, to go through the history of the Election; nor, indeed, is it necessary to do it, as it is prudent rather to let that be entirely forgot; however, I must impute the many misrepresentations therein, particularly the reflections so undeservedly thrown at doctor *Lucas*, to your being a foreigner, and therefore unacquainted with the affairs of *Ireland*.

I am, Sir, &c.

HIBERNICUS.

To his GRACE the

D—— of D——, &c.

My Lord,

(1) **I**F your Grace will condescend to peruse the following Sheets, you will not be surprized, nor, I hope, offended at my Presumption in dedicating them to you; with the Facts therein related; of the Conjectures which I have hazarded, your Grace must naturally be well acquainted, and must certainly be a good Judge. And I do very willingly stake my Reputation, for Veracity and Candour, on the Opinion which you may be pleased to give of them.

(2) I HAVE not the Honour of being known to your Grace; and I have taken every Precaution I could think of, to prevent my being known to the Publick. For altho' I have not advanced one Fact, which is not of publick Notoriety; altho' no private Character can be affected by any Thing I have related; tho' I am persuaded no one Person, mentioned in these Papers, will be offended at what I have said of him; yet, as I have spoken, and I could not help speaking, of Faction, with some Warmth, I may possibly have given Offence to those, who have not been considerable enough to find a Place in this History; to the lower Tools, who are generally more jealous of the Honour of their Masters, and of the Reputation of their Party, than they are of their own; to Men, whose Friendship is of no Avail, and yet whose Enmity is dangerous.

I MUST

DEDICATION

ON

DEDICATION.

My L—,

(1) **I**F your G— will condescend to peruse the following sheets, you will, perhaps, be surprized, but, I hope, not offended at my presumption in dedicating them to you, with the facts therein related. Of the conjectures, which I have hazarded, your G— must naturally be well acquainted; and you must certainly be a good judge of what you are naturally well acquainted of. And I do willingly stake my reputation for veracity and candour, on the opinion which you may be pleased to give, of the conjectures which I have hazarded.

(2) Happy would it indeed be for your G—, if I had not the honour of being personally known to you; but, for many prudential reasons, I have most industriously concealed my being the author of this piece; and having never discover'd myself, even to your G—, as such, in any other manner, than by sending you a copy, bound in Turkey, you may, with a good conscience, affirm, that you are as ignorant of it as the rest of the world; for having advanced sundry facts, for which there is not the least ground, and, by that means, affected many innocent characters, great offence will surely follow; and as it was necessary for me to speak of Faction with some warmth, to be sure, it will not be forgot, by your G—, and my opponents, that a faction, and a low one too, is what we have chiefly to rely upon: And it may also be insinuated, that those opponents, whom I have dignified with the name of a faction, are, really, the strength of the nation, and a set of men, who
have

(3) I MUST, therefore, be excused, if I never own myself the Author of this History; if I should even (were there Occasion) deny that I know any Thing of it; this, my Lord, is the only Falshood which I think I shall ever be guilty of, but it is of that Kind of Falshood which the Casuists call officious, and which they tell us may sometimes be used, as when the Questioner has no Right to make the Question, — or when, by declaring the Fact, we endanger another Person's, much more one's own, Life or Reputation.

(4) IF I, therefore, chuse to keep myself concealed even from your Grace, it is not from Diffidence of your Grace's Honour or Humanity, nor from any Fear that your Grace might act from the Precedent of others, and give up the Book I should present you with, as an uncontrollable Evidence of my being its Author, should your Grace be solicited so to do. So far am I from any such Fear, that if your Grace requires it — if you have any Curiosity of seeing the Author of those Sheets, he will present a Copy of them in the Company and Presence of any Person or Persons, whom your Grace is pleased to honour with Admittance to your Presence. But, besides the Reason already mentioned, I would willingly avoid giving your Grace any Uneasiness, — any Occasion for your Enemies to suggest, that you were of a Party with the Author, in exposing their Misconduct and the low Artifices of their Faction.

(5) I HOPE your Grace will not be offended that I have supposed you have some Enemies. The best of Men cannot avoid having some. The Patriot will be hated by the Faction. The Minister by the Rival of his Power. The

have always been invariably attached to his Majesty's person and government, and have, for many years, conducted the business of that country, greatly to their own honour, with peace and contentment at home, and entirely to the satisfaction of the administration here.

(3) I must, therefore, be excused, if I never own myself the author of this history, if I should even tell lies, and deny that I know any thing of it; these kind of lies are allowed by all political casuists, when speaking the truth might subject our persons to a drubbing, or our reputation for courage, to an impeachment.

(4) Your G— acuteness will easily perceive, that my thus concealing myself, is not from any diffidence of your honour, or humanity; but from a manifest intention to serve you, by safely throwing, from behind a door, an heap of dirt, at your enemies; and if your G— should hereafter be able to form a guess, who it is that has done you this notable piece of service, I flatter myself that an application for a *pauvre petite* pension, will not be unfavourably received.

(5) But pray, my L—, be not offended, that I here give it under my hand that you have enemies in *Ireland*. — Enemies to your person, it is on all hands agreed, you can have none; and if there should be too many to your government, who can be so unreasonable, or so ignorant, to impute it to any misconduct of your G—? Is it in your power to reduce your f—s brows about half an inch lower than nature has placed them? or can you be always at his elbow to prevent him from raising them an inch higher than that same bountiful nature intended? — Would he believe you, should you assure him, as you might do with truth, that there is in poor *Ireland* almost as high blood as his lordship's? — or, if you should recommend it to him, either when he speaks, or is spoken to, to act *en ministre*, rather than *en maitre*, would he
listen

The Governor by those who are turned out of Place. Enemies you must, my Lord, have many, because you don't deserve to have one. But if the Word, Enemy, should sound too harsh in your Grace's Ears, yet must you, my Lord, acknowledge, that, not all your Regard for the true Interest of *Ireland*, not all the Impartiality of your Government, not your Moderation in the Exercise of your Power, could secure you, nor can, indeed, secure an Angel, from an Opposition, which is always the more violent in Proportion as it is unjust.

(6) How unexpected was, indeed, the last Opposition in *Ireland*? Your Grace had been received, by all Degrees and Ranks of Men, with all the Marks of Joy and Gratitude, which could be manifested by Men, who had experienced the Goodness and Mildness of your former Administration, and who had so long regretted your Absence. Whatever your Grace proposed, was supposed to be for the Good of *Ireland*. The Jobs intended to be perpetrated in Elections were set aside. The Design of bringing in a Bill for the Regulation of the Year, which was, in some Degree, asserting the Independency of *Ireland*, was voluntarily dropp'd. The immaterial Alteration made in the Money Bills was connived at. To your Grace's Interposition do the Citizens of *Dublin* owe the Preservation of the Navigation of their River. Until, when all Business seemed to be over, — when, in the Apprehension of some, your Grace had gotten too much of the Affections of the People, especially of the Citizens of *Dublin*, more than any of your Predecessors since your last Residence amongst them, then Envy began to hiss, and Malice to shew it's Teeth.

listen to your advice? — Can you restrain the volatility of his parts, or the petulancy of his tongue? — In fine, can you furnish him with those two qualifications, so necessary to one in his station, Prudence and Discretion? — Again, can you divest your * * * of his indelible Character, or reconcile your Subjects to the tyranny of a mean Ecclesiastick, the son of an obscure nonjuring Banker? — Can you stop the mouths of men from reflecting on his detestable vices, or on his suspected principles? — or, to sum up all, will the high born, and not less high-spirited, nobility, and protestant gentry of that kingdom, always ready to draw their swords for, and to devote their lives and fortunes to, the service of his majesty, and his illustrious family, tamely look on, while all employments, places, and preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, are distributed among a set of minions or pathicks, or according to the wretched caprice of two such pick'd and chosen ministers of state? — Let not, therefore, the word Enemy sound harsh in your grave ears; for I doubt, my L—, not all that innate goodness and sweetness of disposition, which so illustriously shew'd itself, while you formerly filled that high station; not all your moderation, consummate prudence, and extreme caution, I had almost said timidity, will, as you are now beset, secure you, or wou'd secure an angel, from peevish disputes and hostile opposition, which have always been, and ever will be, strong, in proportion to the provocation given.

(6) How unexpected, indeed, was your disappointment in *Ireland* last session? Your G— had been received by all degrees and ranks of men, with all the marks of joy and gratitude, which cou'd be manifested by men who had experienced the goodness and mildness of your former administration; and who had so long regretted your absence: No jobs, nor designs of disagreeable changes,

B

were

Teeth. — Then was your Reputation for Power to suffer, by shewing to the Citizens, that you were not able to prevent the passing the Petition for the Bridge. — Then were all the unpopular Acts pass'd unanimously, by themselves, laid to your Grace's Charge — Then was a Sacrifice to be made to their Resentment — Then were florid Compliments to be paid to a former Administration; and Words weighed to make the customary Addresses at the End of a Session of as little Compliment to your Grace as possible — Then were all the Arts to be used, to prevent the People from openly declaring on the Side of their Governor — Or paying proper Marks of respect to your Grace, and to Lord George, for your Grace's Regard to the Citizens of Dublin, and for his Lordship's open Protection of them.

were suspected; and such incidents in business, as had the least tendency to interrupt the quiet of the session, such as the stile bill, or even an alter'd money bill, were connived at, and pass'd *sub silentio*: half the nobility and gentry of the kingdom were refused the convenience of a bridge over the *Liffey*, and the question dropp'd, for fear of offending the city of *Dublin*, and of lessening that popularity which was thought so necessary to the grand ministerial scheme: grand, indeed! for when, at length, it was look'd upon to be ripe for execution, it came out to import no less than a total change in the administration of the government of the kingdom. The power of the house of commons had been found troublesome and dangerous, that of the speaker, exorbitant; he was to be peered, and pension'd: *and a rattle-beaded, insignificant coxcomb* to be put into his place. Then was the plan formed for the council, forsooth, composed of an *English* a*** b***, qualified as aforesaid, and a superecilious boy, intoxicated with pride, and giddy with power, to govern two millions of people without controul; and the parliament, *a la mode de Paris*, to be called only to register their wise edicts. Then, indeed, did envy begin to hiss, that is, the just indignation of people, of all ranks, began to rise; then was that opposition formed, which the whole power of your court, with all the favours it could bestow, or promise, or all the menaces it could vainly utter, was not able to withstand. — Then the steady, untainted virtue of the speaker, which had distinguished him through a long course of business and of years, was universally acknowledged and appealed to. — Then, to open your G—'s eyes, was a sacrifice made, and a merciful one too, to the resentment of an injured and a pillaged people. — Then were the unpopular, not to say offensive, behaviour, and arbitrary designs, of your two ministers, exposed to the world, by that season-

(7) SUCH Arts might succeed in Assemblies, who we may suppose to be under Direction — In Assemblies, where, from meer Length of Time, Faction must have found Opportunity to sow it's Tares, or to strengthen itself — In Assemblies, where private Gratitude for a Permission to enjoy their own Right, or a Licence to possess the Rights of others, may unite the Members more intimately to one Man, than their Duty and Obligation can bind them to the Publick. But cannot ever prevail amongst an unbiass'd — adjudging — a free People; and the extraordinary — the unprecedented Manner, in which the Free-Citizens of *Dublin* welcomed and took Leave of your Grace, will be an everlasting Testimony, that your former, as well as your last, Administration, in *Ireland*, was truly popular.

(8) It is not, I hope, disagreeable to your Grace, that I should mention your Grace's Popularity in *Ireland*; your Grace cannot be supposed to be insensible to that Pleasure, which arises in a benevolent Bosom, at the Returns of Gratitude from an obliged and respected People. True it is, my Lord, that this Love for a People may sometimes be feigned — may be put on to serve the base Ends of Faction or Corruption. But where no such End appears, — when Princes and Governors, who propose nothing but the Good of the People, will condescend to become popular, they can have no other View, no other Motive, but the gratifying their own natural Sentiment of Affection to the People, and their as natural Joy of meeting with grateful Returns. If such a Desire of Popularity does not constitute Merit, I do not know in what Merit consists. And if this Desire of being esteemed and

able address to his majesty, which L*** G***, left it should be suggested that he was one of the persons pointed at, with more prudence than spirit, thought proper to second. — Then just acknowledgments were made to a former governor, of whom the nation had no reason to complain. — And then, in the last address to your G—, compliments to your f***, *i. e.* your administration, were forborn, because they were not judged to be due to him.

(7) Such will ever be the conduct in popular assemblies, which are not under an undue direction and influence; — of assemblies composed of persons of the highest rank, family, fortune, and understanding, and therefore incapable of being biassed by private interest, imposed on by smiles, or frighten'd by haughtiness, or insolence; — of assemblies, endued with a spirit, equally disposed to gratitude, for favours received; and to resentment for injuries offered. — And permit me to say, my L—, that there can't be a stronger proof of the difference between your former and present administration, than the honourable and joyful reception you met with at your last arrival in *Dublin*, and the extraordinary coolness of the commons, at their taking leave of you. — Not to mention the unprecedented manner, in which faint compliments were solicited, and extorted from the citizens of *Dublin*, in order to keep up the miserable appearance of popularity.

(8) It is not, I hope, disagreeable to your G— that I should mention your G— popularity in *Ireland*; you cannot be insensible to that pleasure which popularity administers to an ambitious mind, with an obliged and respected people. — True it is, my L—, that this love for a people may, sometimes, be, nay, frequently, has been feigned — may be put on to serve the base ends of faction and corruption. — I am far from imputing these to your G—; but where no such
end

and beloved does not imply a Regard to the People, I do not know how it is possible for a Governor to shew it.

(9) Of this Regard for the People, I have the strongest Reason to believe your Grace has given the most unexceptionable Proofs. Not only in the open Countenance and Encouragement you have publicly given to Citizens, who, under a former Administration, were injuriously treated; but in the uninterrupted Permission they, under your Grace, have enjoyed, of prosecuting their Right, without any Apprehension that their Perseverance, in the peaceful and legal Manner in which they have hitherto proceeded, will be construed into Obstinacy, or their Discontent at the Infringement on their Liberties by inferior Magistrates, will be mistaken for a Disaffection to the Government.

(10) YOUR Grace has done for them what their most sanguine Hopes could have made them wish for. The Laws are now open for their Redress, and if they should not succeed there, if, by any of the Quirks and Turns of the Law, a Remedy should not be found, in the regular Manner, your Grace is, no Doubt, disposed to procure them what of Redress, it is in the Power of the Crown or Legislature to afford them.

(11) But

end appears; when governors, who propose nothing but the good of the people, condescend to become popular, they can have no other view, no other motive, but the gratifying their own natural sentiments, by the joy which such popularity affords them. — If such a desire of popularity does not constitute merit, I should be glad to know wherein merit consists *.

(9) Of this great regard for the people, of this unbounded desire of popularity, I have the strongest reason to believe your G— has given the most unexceptionable proofs; not only in the open countenance and encouragement you have given to me in particular, who, in a former administration, was most injuriously treated; but also by your publicly encouraging the citizens of *Dublin* to prosecute their rights at law, however detrimental such prosecutions were thought to be to the peace and quiet of the city, or however frivolous their complaints had been deemed by the inferior magistrates, viz. the ablest judges upon the bench.

(10) Your G— has done more for them than their most sanguine hopes could have flattered them with; you have obliged the judges again to receive their long rejected, and what had been long adjudged frivolous, complaints: But give me leave to say, that more than this is hoped for from you; the law, we know, is point blank against them; to crown your popularity, and to testify your unalterable love to the citizens, you must take measures to have the laws altered in their favour; this they are persuaded you are well disposed to do; this they think you will do.

(11) But

* The Reader is desired to observe the reasoning of this.

(11) BUT there is one Grievance, in which the present Laws and Constitution of their Country cannot relieve them. I mean the Grievance of being represented in Parliament, by one, they have not chosen; by one, who is so far from being entrusted by them with the Care of their Rights and Liberties, that he is one of those, against whom they seek Redress, as one of the Invaders and Usurpers of those Rights, which they are desirous by all legal Methods to reclaim. How this has come to pass, is the Subject of the following Sheets, which, if I mistake not, if your Grace has all that Regard for the Happiness of the People of *Ireland*, which all your Actions proclaim you to be affected with, you will peruse with Attention.

(12) BUT your Grace, I am sure, will not stop here. How much soever the Interest and Advantage of the Citizens of *Dublin* may claim your Regard, you will not be less affected with the Misfortunes of the rest of the People of *Ireland*. All do not labour, like the former, under the Misfortune of having Representatives in Parliament chosen for them; but all of them labour under the Misfortune of being subject to the longest Parliament that ever subsisted, in that or any other Country. I speak of Subjection, and of Misfortune. Yes, my Lord, when Men are in Power for such a long Time, they insensibly forget to whom they are indebted for it. They are apt to exert it to the Oppression, rather than to the Protection, of those, who have entrusted them with it. This has been the Complaint of all Ages, and of all People; this it was, which gave Occasion to our Laws, for limiting Parliaments; and for my Part, my Lord, I

have

(11) But there is one grievance, from which the present laws and constitution of their country cannot, I fear, relieve them; I mean the grievance of being represented in parliament by sir C—B—, instead of being represented by mr. L—, who is able to serve them much better, (at least in my opinion) and is, indeed, pining for a seat there, and who, to qualify himself the better to display his eloquence, in that august assembly, is a weekly haranguer at the Baker's Club. Now, tho' I cannot expect that your G—, shou'd exert your power to turn sir C—, who is so firmly attached to your party, out of the house of commons, on his account; yet as the whole design of the following sheets is to convince you that he has no right to sit there, pray, my L—, read them with attention; and not only so, but be convinced by the arguments which they offer; otherwise I shall be apt to suspect, that all the regard for the happiness of the people of *Ireland*, which you profess, is mere pretence and affectation.

(12) But the change of the law, the turning sir C—B— out of parliament, and what is still more, your G—'s taking the pains to read and understand this book, which has cost me so much labour in writing, and money in printing, is not all, with great submission, which your good friends, the citizens of *Dublin*, expect from your hand. — They therefore, by me, beg leave to put you in mind, that the very parliament of *Ireland* is grown the worse for the wearing, if it is not really superannuated; in short, my L—, it has lived longer than I chuse it should, and therefore I expect that, to oblige me and some other of your friends, you will put it to death; all human things are subject to decay. Yes, my L—, when men are in power for any considerable time, they insensibly forget to whom they are indebted for it; they are apt to exert it to the oppression, rather than to the protection,

have not remarked any such Difference between the Temper and Disposition of the People of *Ireland*, and those of our own People, as to perceive the Reason, why what has been thought salutary to us, should not be equally so to them.

(12) If our Laws for Septennial Parliaments be then salutary, am I not warranted to call a Privation of such a Law, a Misfortune to the People of *Ireland*? Whether or no the Government may find it's Account in the Continuation of such a Parliament, I shall not take upon me to decide. But, if I have conjectured right, it must be against the Interest of any Government, to rule by a Faction, rather than by the most popular Measures. To rule by a Faction, is a Compromise, it is sharing Government, with those who have no Right to it; whereas to rule by the People, is Law, is Authority. But leaving those Matters to Persons, who are the best and most proper Judges of them, I must return to the People, to whom the Continuance of a long Parliament, tho' supposed never so wise, or so loyal, is and must always be a Misfortune; were it no more, than that it is a Veil between the King and the People; a Veil which prevents any Inter-
course or Communication.

tection, of those who have entrusted them : This has been the complaint of all ages, and of all people ; I beg your G—'s pardon, I would by no means be thought, by any thing I have said, to insinuate that you have abused your power, or to wish that you should be deprived of the L— of I—: what I am speaking of, is the parliament ; and this it was which gave occasion for our laws here to limit their duration ; and permit me to say, that what is sauce for a goose, — you know the proverb. — If, therefore, septennial parliaments are salutary here, why should they not be thought so in I—d? For my own part, my L—, I neither know nor care, whether the government may find its account in the continuance of it, I am persuaded it is wrong to suffer it to continue, and therefore I expect you will have it dissolved.

(13) Permit me, my L—, to hazard one conjecture more, to which I beg your G— may give your whole attention : It is, and ever must be, diametrically opposite to the interest of any government, or governor, to rule by a faction, rather than by the most popular measures ; to rule by a faction, is a miserable compromise ; it is sharing government with those who have no right to it ; whereas, to rule by a fair and unbiassed majority in parliament, is law, is authority : In the former case, wretches must be corrupted, to do, what they ought not ; in the latter, virtue will infallibly prevail upon them to do what they ought. But leaving these matters to your G—'s profound consideration, who must, 'ere this, be experimentally sensible of the truth of them, I must return to the people, to whom the continuance of a long parliament, tho' never so wise, so virtuous, and so loyal, is, and always must be, a misfortune, were it no more, than that it is a veil between the king and the people, a veil which prevents any intercourse or communication.

(14) If a Parliament is supposed, in their Addresses and Laws, to speak the Sense of their Constituents, it is because they are supposed to know them; it is because they are supposed to have had the same Sentiments with the People, or at least to have professed the same, at a late Election. But when the Representatives have outlived (as many of the *Irish* Representatives have) the whole Body of their Electors, in some Places, and in most of them, the Majority, how can their Addresses be construed to represent the true Meaning of the present People? Or, indeed, how can they themselves be said to represent the People, who were, perhaps, unborn, or, at least, had no Right or Share in the Election, by which they obtained their Seats?

(15) I HOPE

(14) For if a parliament is supposed in their addresses and laws to speak the sense of their constituents, it is, because they are supposed to know them; it is, because they are supposed to have had the same sentiments with the people, or, at least, to have profess'd the same, at a late election; for I must observe to your G—, that it is only at elections, that we can possibly learn the sentiments of our constituents: Now, if any pestilential distemper should suddenly carry off those who elected me, how can my addresses be construed to represent the true meaning of the present people; it may, indeed, represent the true meaning of the dead; but I believe your G— will easily admit, that no person is sent to parliament to represent the dead. This must surely be acknowledged to be a very great grievance; and, I confess, a grievance not easily to be remedied; and yet, if your G— will permit me to hazard one other conjecture, I think I can solve the difficulty, and, I flatter myself, to the satisfaction of every commoner in *Britain* and *Ireland*; my scheme is this, that upon the death of any freeholder, or burgess, the representative shall be sent back to his county or borough, to stand a new election; or, if that should be thought liable to objection, why should not the member himself be put to death, when he hath outlived all, or the majority of, his constituents; for he may be supposed, in that case, to be superannuated, as well as the parliament.

(15) I hope,

(15) I HOPE, my Lord, that what I here say, cannot be misconstrued into any Reflection on, or any Disrespect to, any of the worthy Gentlemen, who now compose the Representative Body of the People of *Ireland*; I declare I have no such Thoughts; on the contrary, I am fully persuaded that most of them would regain their Seats, were there a Dissolution; I am persuaded the Majority of them would be glad of an Opportunity of trying the Favour of their Electors; I am persuaded some of them are impatient of shewing to the World, and of being satisfied themselves, that they are most popular in their respective Countries. This I am certain of, that the People are desirous of shewing their Respect and Gratitude to those, who have used their Power, as not abusing it; of giving unequivocal Proofs of their Zeal and Affection to his Majesty, by the Choice of such Representatives, as were most dutiful and affectionate to him. And I am as certain, that the Business of Government would be better carried on, by Men, who come free and uninfluenced, and who owe their Seats to new Marks of Affection from the People, than it can be, by Men, who have no other Tye with their supposed Constituents, than what they have, one with another, as being Fellow Subjects, and Fellow Protestants.

I am, with the greatest Respect,

MY LORD,

Your most humble

And obedient Servant,

A. BRITON.

(15) I hope, my L—, that what I here say cannot be misconstrued into any reflection on, or any disrespect to, any of the worthy gentlemen who now compose the representative body of the people of *Ireland*; I declare I have no such thoughts; on the contrary, I am fully perswaded that there are very few among them, who would not regain their seats upon a new election: I have very great doubts, upon second thoughts, whether a dissolution could answer any other purpose, except putting the gentlemen to very great expence, and making the people idle, who are, already, but too much inclined to be so; and I may farther venture to assure your G—, that that country never had, nor ever can have, a representative of greater loyalty, honour, and integrity, than the present; such a representative will ever deserve, and, therefore, may be always sure to have, the protection of our most gracious sovereign, whose glory, and whose delight, it hath ever been to reign over a happy and free people, and whose favour, I trust, they will never forfeit, though it should please God, in mercy to the people of these kingdoms, and indulgence of their ardent wishes and earnest prayers, to continue his majesty's life for many, many years yet to come.

I am, &c.

VINDICATION of the R— H— and G— who have been falsely aspersed, and scandalously misrepresented, in a late anonymous Work, intitled, *History of Rogers*. By a Lover of Truth.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

LONDON, July 8th, 1753.

In a few Days will be published,

THE HARLEQUINS. A Comedy. After the Manner of the *Teatre Italien*. As it is now acting, with great Applause, by a Company of Gentlemen, for the Entertainment of their Friends, at the Great Room in *Drumcondra*.

Just Published,

HIBERNIA PACATA: or, a Narrative of the Affairs of *Ireland*, from the famous Battle of *Clontarf*, where *Brian Boirom* defeated the *Norwegians*, till the Settlement under *Henry II*. Written originally in *Irish*, and now first translated by *Father Neri of Tuam*; and adorned with Notes by several Hands.

Lately Published,

HONESTY the best POLICY: or, the History of *ROGER*. The *seventh* Edition. Wherein the *Characters* and *Passages*, omitted by the Editor of the former Editions, are restored. To which is prefixed, A Letter from the *Author* to the *Printer*.

A L S O,

A VINDICATION of the R—t H—e and H—e L—ds and Gentlemen, who have been basely aspersed, and scandalously mis-represented, in a late anonymous Work, intitl'd, *The History of ROGER*. By a Lover of Truth.

HARLEQUINS.

THE
COMEDY.
HARLEQUINS.

THEATRE ITALIEN.

A

COMEDY.

L O N D O N.

Printed for George Loeve 1755.

8/10/2

ADVERTISEMENT

THE
HARLEQUINS

COMEDY.

A
VALIDATION
OF THE
HARLEQUINS
COMEDY
BY
ROGER. By a
LONDON

THE

8/45. e.
5.

HARLEQUINS.

A

COMEDY.

After the Manner of the

TEATRE ITALIEN.

As it is now Acting, with great Applause,

By a Company of GENTLEMEN, for
the Entertainment of their Friends,
at the Great Room in *Drumcon-
dra-lane.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for GEORGE LION, 1753.

THE
HARLEQUINS

COMEDY.

After the Manner of the

THEATRE ITALIEN.

As is now Acting with great Applause

by a Company of
the most famous of their Friends
at the Great Room in
Drury Lane.

L O N D O N .

Printed for George Lion, 1771

Dramatis Personæ.

M E N.

HARLEQUIN STATESMAN.

HARLEQUIN GENERAL.

HARLEQUIN DOCTOR.

HARLEQUIN ORATOR.

HARLEQUIN LAWYER.

HARLEQUIN BALOUARD, or Blunderer.

HARLEQUIN MILLER.

W O M E N.

Dramatis Personæ.

M E N.

HARLEQUIN STATSMAN.

HARLEQUIN GENERAL.

HARLEQUIN DOCTOR.

HARLEQUIN ORATOR.

HARLEQUIN LAWYER.

HARLEQUIN BALDHEAD, or BUNDLER.

HARLEQUIN MILLER.

W O M E N.



THE
HARLEQUINS.
A
COMEDY.

SCENE I.

*The Curtain draws, and discovers the DOCTOR
and BALOUARD; the first talking vehemently,
the second listening and staring.*

DOCTOR.

HE's such a Dog as you cou'dn't pick
out of a Kennel; has neither Sense,
Humour, or good Manners, Shame
or Honesty in him. If you take him in, he'll
spoil all. Leave all that Business to me. I'll
handle

8 *The* HARLEQUINS.

handle them to a truth, make Affes of them
wherever I meet them, and so ridiculous be-
hind their Backs, that the Mob shall hoot at
them. The Fellow has Malice enough, but
no Notion of clean Satire.

BALOUARD.

And yet, I think, he was too hard for you
the last Time I saw you in Company toge-
ther.

COMEDY.
DOCTOR.

I don't know how the Devil it happen'd; I
was bashful that Day and *Crop-sick*, and most
of the Company d—d stupid, and cou'dn't take
any thing. I was never so out of Luck
before; but I'll take care what Company I go
into another Time. I tell you again, let me
alone to make them ridiculous.

BALOUARD.
By the Lord *Harry*, it is we that are ridi-
culous, if you go to that with it; haven't
they made sport of us round the three King-
doms

doms in sham Histories, in Advertisements, and News-Papers, and all that; and some Blockhead among our Friends, who undertook to vindicate us, has made us twice as ridiculous as we were before; and why didn't you set yourself to answer them?

DOCTOR.

I had no Time but the Morning, and then my Hand shakes so I can't write. But stay 'till we get every thing in our own Hands, and then, by G—d, the *Beam out of the Timber shall answer them*; they shall be hang'd for Treason against L—G—, and Capt. C—m.³⁵ We shall get our own Juries; and our own *Lawyers* shall find ev'ry Thing they have hinted at in the Statute of *Edward III.* Those will be glorious Times, and we shall have Revenge enough. I will piss upon the S—r, and f—e on D—ks; spit in the Face of Lord K—e, call Rogue and Blockhead at every one I hate, and have ev'ry Rascal put in Newgate by the C——s who pretends to have *Wit* like me, or doesn't laugh when I have a mind to be pleasant.

B BALOUARD.

to *The* HARLEQUINS.

BALOUARD.

If you resolve on that, you will fall foul
on our Friends; for they don't always laugh
at your Jokes.

DOCTOR.

It's because they are Fools.

BALOUARD.

Or, perhaps, have heard them before.

DOCTOR.

Do you set up for a Wit too? A Fellow
that's the Jest of all the Kingdom, and has
left behind him, where-ever he went, *standing*
Monuments of his Ignorance, and Folly, and
Conceit, and——

BALOUARD.

They will not *stand long*. But you are an
impudent Fellow to dare to arraign my Skill
and

The HARLEQUINS. 11

and Judgment. I had Offers from all the Powers in *Europe*; could have had my own Terms from the *Dutch*.

DOCTOR.

You have a *Dutch Genius*, I must own.

BALOUARD.

Nay, then, in spite of your Doctorship, I must cane you; take that, Sirrah——

Enter MILLER.

MILLER.

What, Gentlemen, Friends fall out! — *Barbarous civil War*! Pr'ythee hold; the rest will be here immediately, and we expect the General to-day. Peace you, what?

[Looks angry at the Doctor.]

DOCTOR.

By G—d you have just as much Sense as he has; a fine Pair ye are; go and build a *Mill*

B 2

together,

12 *The* HARLEQUINS.

together, and forget you wanted Water, till the
Corn came to be ground. Three thousand Pound!
and the *Mill*, devil a bit would it go.

MILLER.

Hark ye, there are none here but Friends,
and I am used to your Petulance; but by ——
if so be, you ever mention that again——

Enter LAWYER, STATESMAN, and ORATOR.

LAWYER.

If the Identity of the Person can be proved,
who spoke in the Dark, and afterwards went to
the *Sheriff*, we set aside the Election.

STATESMAN.

It seems hard to swear to the Identity of a Per-
son one hasn't seen.

LAWYER.

Nothing easier, swear to the Voice; is there any
one would scruple to swear to T— C——r's
Voice,

Voice, tho' he were shut up in the Centry-box,
or A——l's, if he only heard him from
t'other Side the Water?

STATESMAN.

But we can't prove the Voice went to the She-
riff, &c.——

LAWYER.

Yes, we'll make him speak the same Words
on the Floor, and the Evidence shall assert the
Identity of Voices. But here comes the General.

*Enter GENERAL, with a Sword of five Fatbom
long, Post-whip, and Jack-boots, and a Cue
trailing the Ground.*

STATESMAN.

Noble General, welcome.

ALL.

Welcome, General.

GENERAL.

GENERAL.

Many Thanks, my dear Friends. How has the Cause prospered here? It goes on *swimmingly* on t'other Side, we have *W*——*n* sure, tho' *Harry* doesn't half like us, or know what to make of our Scheme. *G*——*e* is indifferent, and laughs as he did at his own Treaty. *C*——*m*——*d* hates us, 'tis true, but dares not stir, for some Reasons I'll tell you another Time. Who is that **Fellow** with the broad Face, and satyr-like Look?

STATESMAN.

One has been of great Use to us, and did good Service underhand; he'll give you an Account of himself better than any one else can. Doctor, let me present you to the General.

GENERAL.

I think I shou'd have seen you somewhere; but pray how long have you been o' this Sde?

DOCTOR.

I never was o' t'other Side in my Life.

GENERAL.

GENERAL.

I don't mean this Side the Water, but on our Side the Question.

DOCTOR.

Oh! for that Matter, I have been o' this Side, and that Side, of both Sides, and no Side; the last Service I was in turn'd out ill; I waited long, and got nothing; began to hate my Patron, and, by Degrees, got in with our Friends here, gave them Intelligence by every Post, and, being of the *Merry Andrews*, was quite unsuspected, 'till a Fellow I despised for his Want of Wit, gave my Patron a Hint of my Tricks; he was long e're he would believe it, but at last I was fairly smoaked, and they held Councils what to do with me; it was agreed, on a rejoycing Day to hang me on the great Elm for Sport.

GENERAL.

O' my Word you were near nicking then; and how did you escape?

DOCTOR.

DOCTOR.

There was no Time to lose, and I was beset on all Sides. I took a running Leap into the great Bason, dived thro' the Pipes, and rose again at *Leixlip Cascade*.

GENERAL.

What a strange Fellow is this? I think I have heard, Doctor, that you were a good Diver; but, surely, you're rather too gross to squeeze thro' the Pipe of a *Jet d'eau*.

DOCTOR.

Oh! Sir, People are dev'lish small when they are going to be hang'd. Did you never hear of going thro' a Key-hole. By G—d there's one of our Friends there, would be glad of so good a Chance, as escaping thro' the Touch-hole of a Gun.

GENERAL.

(to the STATESMAN.)

A pleasant Fellow this, and, I believe, speaks Truth.

STATESMAN.

STATESMAN.

It's Time we retire to *Council*.

ORATOR.

But, first, let us have a Dance.

ALL.

Agreed.

Enter HARLEQUIN MUSICIAN, with Tabor and Pipe.

STATESMAN.

Doctor, you know his Tunes best; call for one.

DOCTOR.

Play ROGER de Coverly.

ALL.

No, no, no.

C

DOCTOR.

DOCTOR.

The Irish Trot then.

GENERAL.

D—n your *Irish Trot*, and *Irish Brogue* too.

ORATOR.

I'm for *Petticoat-loose*.

MILLER.

So am I; but all on the Floor don't understand it.

LAWYER.

The Temple Maggot.

DOCTOR.

I hate the *Temple* ever since I lost my own Fortune to make a *Lawyer's*.

BALQUARD.

The Humours of the Army.

GENERAL.

D—n it, the Army's against us; let the Piper play what he pleases.

MUSICIAN.

MUSICIAN.

What d'ye think of *Tis for Tat*?

A L L.

Ay, ay, we'll give it them home.

First Couple cast off, then set Face to Face, right and left round; other Couples the same, join Hands round, dance off. — The DOCTOR, having no Partner, sings along with the Tabor, sets to the MUSICIAN, who goes off with him skipping and playing.

End of the FIRST SCENE.

SCENE II.

Discovers a Council in Form, the DOCTOR with his Back to the Company, sitting under the Table, like Apemantus in Timon.

STATESMAN.

AS the Time is at Hand for *unlocking the Secret*,
I shall give you a succinct Account of the

present Posture of Affairs. *Some Folk, Mr. General, when you left us last, were disposed to insult and turn People by an oily Tongue from their peaceful Inclinations.* We could not help it then, you know, as we had *fought on bad Ground*; and tho' our Friend in the *Combe* got a few of the Mob together, to give you the necessary *Cheer* on going off, it did us no Service here, but you say, faced Matters admirably on t'other Side. So far for Shew at that critical Juncture. We then sent Agents over the whole Kingdom, to get well-judged Compliments from the several Burroughs to the distinguish'd Merits of their Patrons and Friends, which, we suppose, when added to the parting Salute, gave us no small *Eclat* in the Eyes of Europe. In the mean Time, we made ourselves agreeable, and familiar, and comical, to all Sorts of People (*here the DOCTOR looks flouting over his Shoulder*) who came up to Town, especially to those who had no Interest in the Countries they came from. This shewed how disinterested we were, and we sent them Home, transported with our *Affability*, and *Ability*, and *Politeness*, and the rest of the Things, insomuch that at this Time, to use our Advocate's Phrase, *all Ranks, in both Sexes, conspire by their Wishes, all that in them lies, to push us forward.*

DOCTOR.

(getting off the Ground hastily.)

Your *Advocate* is a Blockhead to touch there. He's all thro' senseless, and his *Panegyrick* is as awkward as his *Sneers*, one without Wit, and the other without Manners. When he compliments he affronts; and his *Equilibres*, and *Politricks*, *Vibrations*, *Oceanas*, and *Stuff*, are hardly fit to support a *Mutton Pye*, tho' he thinks them a *Foundation* for a *Commonwealth*. G—d d—n me, if all the *Palaber* in his Book would impose on an *Herb-Woman*, tho' no *Athenian*, or influence the Fellow that takes Toll here at the Turnpike.

A L L.

(rising.)

How! how!

DOCTOR.

I, and how again? I told you what would come of his old fashioned Wit, and *buttery Jokes*, his *Tacitus*, and *Cicero*, and *Piso* with his *Eye-brows*, his *neighbouring Crow*. — Could he affront you more if he had call'd you *Rook*? Give him back again his *doturd Trees* and *oak Saplings*, his *Agri-*
colas

colas and *Syllas*, *rising Suns*, and *Pompey* the *little*, the great, I mean. — The Fellow had Malice in his Heart when he drew Men's Eyes on us in these Lights; and, I believe, did it to flatter the other Side.

GENERAL? — I had not Time to read that Performance e're I came away, but Mr. S— told me it was inimitable.

STATESMAN.

So it is, but the Fellow will allow no one to have Wit but himself. I ordered a Thousand to be given away *gratis*.

DOCTOR.

Ay, and who will read them but ourselves? Indifferent People will not take the Trouble of wading thro' the Dirt and Mire that surround his No-meaning.

GENERAL.

Pray, let us take our Places, and go on with the Business of the Day.

STATESMAN.

STATESMAN.

(aside to GENERAL.)

We are not quite private enough for the rest I have to tell you. This Fellow, and one or two more, must be left behind.

[*Exeunt all but DOCTOR, MILLER, and HAR-
BOUARD.*]

MILLER.

You have undone yourself both with the *General* and *Statesman*. They think *Pliny* himself could not write such a *Panegyrick* on themselves, or *Lucian* and *Swift* so satyrize their Enemies. You must change your Note, and say as all do that come here, *Parsons, Physicians, Commissioners, Inns o' Court Men, Colonels, and Sea Captains, Country Justices, and Common-Council Men.*

DOCTOR.

Why, some of them can't read.

MILLER.

No Matter for that, they can judge as well as nineteen in twenty that do, and their Compliment will be as well taken, as if every one was a *Bentley*.

DOCTOR.

DOCTOR.

By G—d I must get some of the Book by Heart then, for I shall never be able to say any Thing of my own, without sneering it. — Here it is. — P. 9. “ We see, nor can we see” — *that’s strange* — “ how is it possible we should be deceived, that, “ in Fact, every Thing is right, and as it ought “ to be — *comme il faut*.” — Ay, that’s my Apothecary’s Phrase when he takes the *lavement*. “ No Corruption, no Jobbing;” hum! — won’t they kick me if I tell them this? (*goes on.*) “ No Assault offered or intended.” — *Why who’s to be beat?*

MILLER.

You, by the L—d; if you’re impertinent, leave off I tell you.

DOCTOR.

(*goes on.*)

— “ And yet all the Appearances, and Symptoms, of Faction, Whispers, and Spies, fullen “ and sly Looks, &c. — if there be any Principle to justify this.” — Z—s! *must a Man justify the Symptoms of Whispers, Salutations, and Repar-* *tees?* I must look for some other Place, this will

will never do. P. 6. "The Projector will unavoidably be both ridiculous and contemptible; having nothing to give, his Friends will forsake him," — *that's right*, — "and getting Nothing for himself, they will, with equal Reason, despise him." Oh the *Ninny-hammer*! to own his Friends want to rob the Publick!

MILLER.

This is intended to prove their *Sincerity*, which he mentions again, and that they can *bide nothing*. We never pretended any other, and left our old Friend, because he did not *understand the World*, get any thing for himself, or enough for us.

DOCTOR.

Are you teaching me? I know all this, but I insist upon it he's a *Blockhead* to own it.

MILLER.

Not as Things go now.

DOCTOR.

Why, how are Things to go now? Are Minis-

D

ters

ters to be *impeached* for serving the King, and getting Nothing for themselves? Did ever any, before this *muddy-pated* Writer, make it a popular Objection to one, who had a Share in the Administration for twenty Years, that he had got *Nothing for himself*. This is a fine Way to influence *Electors* either *in* or *out* of Doors. Was it not the Glory of a *Walsingham*, that he died a Beggar after saving his Country? That he *repell'd* *Invasions*, established Commerce, made his Fellow Subjects flourishing and free, and left Nothing behind him but his *paternal* Fortune? Was it not *Godolphin's* Pride, and the Boast of his Friends, that he administered Millions, and was not worth a *Groat*? Did they despise him for this? Or was it *Satire* in *Garth*, when he makes it the Subject of poetick Praise, that, during an expensive War, he had provided for the *Treasury* without draining the Subject, made *others rich* whilst *himself* was poor, and — left no Coffers empty but his *own*.

MILLER.

So you would advise our *Patrons* to empty their Coffers?

DOCTOR.

DOCTOR

Advising will not do that Business. I am for getting all we can as well as you; but I would not tell the *People* so, when we are setting up for *Pat-riots*. When we are perswading them to put all Power in our Hands, I would not tell them of *unlocking Secrets*, or give them *Hints*, that may serve as a Foundation for *strange* Conclusions.

MILLER.

I thought our Advocate a little out there, I own.

DOCTOR.

He's out every where, and, if he were intelligible to many Readers, would ruin the *Cause*, and ev'ry *Character* of his Friends embarked in it. He courts the People, and, at the same Time, threatens them with the Power of the Crown, magnifies the Mildness of our *G—rs*, and their pacifick Views, and yet insinuates very harsh Intentions, and cross-grained Measures. When he thinks he has vindicated the Reputation of his Patrons, either in Point of Honesty, or

Virtue, he has confessed, rather than defended, and left every Objection in fuller Force than he found it.

MILLER.

I confess I never read the Book, tho' I commended it so much; but is this possible?

DOCTOR.

It is hard to *develope* confused Ideas from a Cloud of unnatural and affected Words; but if any Sense can be made of these Passages but one, I should be glad it were explained, viz. *that the Crown ought to exert more Power than it has done, and will do it.* P. 35. After saying there can be no such Thing as Patriotism in Ireland, "What
" a worthy Nobleman (he says) observed some
" Years ago, in one Instance, is too generally true
" in them all, that whatever is applied to sweeten
" that, is an effectual *Stiptic*, to stop the bleed-
" ing Wounds of their Country. To be serious;
" such as are fond of assuming this Name always
" mistake or forget the proper Idea, which im-
" plies (he says) an Attachment to the funda-
" mental Prerogatives of the Crown, as much as
" to the Rights of the People; for this Reason,
" tho'

“ tho’ there were none other, that the former is
 “ the Basis and Support of the latter; it will be
 “ granted, because Experience has often proved
 “ it, that *Measures necessary to the Preservation of*
 “ *the Constitution, may at Times bear hard on the*
 “ *People*; is it Patriotism to oppose such Measures?
 “ Of late Years excellent Treatises on Politicks
 “ have been written, but in most, particularly
 “ the most celebrated, the Leaning has been too
 “ great to the popular Side, the Cord by pulling
 “ is become too tight, and *wants to be slackened.*”
 And before this, P. 33. “ Some Folk at the Open-
 “ ing of the next Scene may be less disposed,
 “ and have less Reason, to triumph and insult than
 “ they were at the Close of the *last.*” Now,
 what Construction can our Enemies put on this,
 but the full Exercise of augmented Power, and a
 Disposition to drive where we cannot lead?

MILLER.

Drive! by G—d they’re rusty as Hell, and
 all our Applications by Court-Influence, or *London*
Merchants to disinherit *Nephews*; all Threats of
 delaying Justice, persecuting Friends, putting
 Negatives on *Elections* in another Place, even
 giving Places unasked, and taking them away,
 have gained over but few

DOCTOR.

that there were none other, that the former is
the false and the latter, it will be

granted, because Experience has often proved
You're as silly as he.

the Character, may at last be hard on the
BALOUARD.

On last Years excellent Treatises on Politics
Z—s, let's see three hundred Swords drawn
the first Day.

great to the popular Side, the Cord by pulling
DOCTOR.

And before this, P. 23. "Sole Volk at the Open-

Then for a Sample of this Writer's Dexterity
in salving Sores, and untying Knots, do but look
on his own Words, P. 19. where he defends one
Man, and P. 23. where he clears a Point that
had puzzled some People. P. 19. "The inter-
perate Heat with which the Character of one
very eminent Person among us has been at-
tacked and bandied, &c. —I call it wicked,
because their Allegations are some of them
notoriously false, the blackest of them impossi-
ble, or, if true, incapable of such Evidence,
&c."

balancing Justice, perceiving things, putting
BALOUARD.

giving Place unasked, and taking them away

D—n it, will any one believe such a made Story?

DOCTOR.

DOCTOR.

Because it did not appear, as I have already said, that
 Doctor R. in his Answer, I am inclined
 to no to this Country.

But where it's impossible to *disprove* it, he
 should not have mentioned it. His saying it is
 impossible, leaves it as he found it, and, *or if*
true, may be thought granting it, and so construed
 by People who are *desperately wicked*. This shows
 you what a Master he is of other Men's Ways of
 thinking, which he has the same Mastery over,
 as over his own *Curiosity*, P. 4. which no Man
 ever was Master of yet. Then for the formal Story
 of some Months ago, P. 23. "The Charge was
 "black, and no Pains spared to aggravate and
 "make it blacker. But how did he behave?
 "Why he flatly denied every Tittle of it." Then
 he weighs Probabilities against each other for
 three Pages, and closes convincingly, "none but
 "Fools will believe this, because none but a
 "Fool could be guilty of it, or one who had di-
 "vested himself of all Probity." He is however,
 I must own, consistent with himself when he says,
 P. 39. "He has been obliged to proceed *hypo-*
thetically in developing Causes, &c." — for
 every Thing is supposed, and nothing proved,
 in his doughty *Defence*, or even made probable,
 as he has handled it. "The C—f G—r had
 "nothing in Design." How does he know?
 Because

Because it did not appear, *so People recovered from their Astonishment.* Is One great Person a Friend or no to this Country? Answer, I am surprized it should be doubted.

Well, is not that a good Answer?

Our Enemies say they have no Doubts about it either. So it can be no Answer at all.

MILLER.

But he will undertake for him, that when the Time comes to do us any substantial Service, he will be as alert as any among them: and they must be strangely wicked and perverse who won't take such undeniable Security.

Enter STATESMAN, ORATOR, GENERAL, and LAWYER.

STATESMAN.

We have been laying before the General the

Plan

Plan of our Operations; you, Gentlemen, have been let into it before, (*aside.*) as much as we thought proper; and pray how have you entertained yourselves?

M I L L E R.

Reading the *candid Inquiry*. The Doctor is become a Convert, and read it with Pleasure from Beginning to End.

D O C T O R.

(*Aside.*)

Or from End to Beginning, one's as good as t'other. (*aloud.*) Yes, for my Part, I find it admirable, so easy, so clear, so charmingly diversify'd with Demonstrations and Pleasantries, that nothing *subcelestial* can stand in its *Vicinage*, without being overtopp'd by its luxuriant Branches.

A L L.

Oh! you take it then.

E

D O C T O R.

And then the Satire on *Milefians*, Country
 'Squires, bankrupt Orators, screwed Faces, and
 Fits of Spleen, is so severe, that, I believe, by this
 Time, some of them have hanged themselves,
 (*aside to MILLER*) if they that are meant could
 find themselves out in his Characters.

MILLER.

Or draw Lots for them first, and hang them-
 selves afterwards.

Enter Groom of the Chamber with Letters.

STATESMAN.

(*Opens and reads aside.*)

— Has taken Wind that the Estate is to be pur-
 chased with *Irish* Money — says, let him be ever
 so great a Favorite — should not throw a Kingdom
 into Confusion, only in order to make an Establish-
 ment for one, who is better already than his
 Friends could hope —

DOCTOR.

DOCTOR.

(to MILLER.)

There's something there he does not like.

STATESMAN.

Or his Services deserve — *this is strange, but let us see* — (*goes on reading.*) the Colonel has given me a different Idea of — how! how! — and depending on so many concurring Circumstances, that it cannot be supposed — (*aloud.*) I pawn my Life for the Event, at least there's no retracting. — a Word with you, (*to ORATOR and GENERAL, who go off with him.*)

MILLER.

By G—d I have no Opinion, Doctor, of this Enterprize; we're in no good Way yet.

DOCTOR.

Never fear, we'll both come to't in Time.
Ev'ry Dog has his Day, and the Wheel of Life goes round.

E 2

MILLER.

MILLER.

But the *Turnspit* is always at the Bottom.{*Exeunt.*

End of the SECOND SCENE.

SCENE III.

Enter STATESMAN and GENERAL; the rest following at a Distance.

STATESMAN.

PUT on a good Face, lest something be guessed at; if we slacken in the least, or seem to be less sanguine, we're undone.

GENERAL.

I'll *badinér* a little with the Doctor; what's his *panchant*? is he given to W—g?

STATESMAN.

STATESMAN.

Invite him to be free with you, and some Diversion may ensue.

GENERAL.

I hope, Doctor, we shall drink a Bottle together, and be on a free Footing as Friends ought to be.

DOCTOR.

Your Excellency does me great Honour, but it's a Maxim with me never to be wanting in Respect to my Superiors. I can't take the Liberties I see some People do. Prithce, where were you a General? In *Flanders*?

GENERAL.

Yes.

DOCTOR.

I'll be d—d if I remember your Name in any News-Paper. I can't, at least, recollect his
Excellency

Excellency General Harlequin; but, perhaps, you were a General *incognito*?

GENERAL.

No, not quite.

DOCTOR.

Perhaps, a General in *esse*, as our Friend the Advocate has it?

GENERAL.

There may be something in that; or, at least, in *Posse*.

DOCTOR.

I understand you; our Friend there, the Orator, is in the same Predicament; and, pray, when you both get this *Posse-ship*, which will be the greater Man?

LAWYER.

(to MILLER.)

Believe me, you had best take him down, he'll

go too far else, and discover to them that we know more than they wish we should.

MILLER.

So much the better, they'll confide in us the more.

GENERAL.

Why, Doctor, as to *that there*, much is to be said.

DOCTOR.—

But, I hope, not much to be *done*; for if there be, more Hands will be wanting, and the People, in general, are so d—d dull, that they will be apt, for a great while, to give the Preference to the *Orator*; and not readily see the Advantages of having the *General* above him.

GENERAL.

We may chance to help their Eye-sight in a little Time.

DOCTOR.

Did you bring any Powders with you for that Purpose,

40 *The* HARLEQUINS

Purpose, or will you take up with what you can get here? you may have an excellent Wash for weak Eyes at the *Elixir Ware-house* in *Silver-Court*.

GENERAL

That's but quacking, we intend to use the purging Medicine already made up in *Golden-Square*.

DOCTOR

That's a d—d dangerous Medicine, to my Knowledge; if you give it without *regular Advice*, it will set the *Patients* mad; and, as far as I see, the *only Doctor* in Town, whose Skill is to be relied on, will not take a Fee from you.

GENERAL

Tut, I'll take it first myself, to convince them there's no Danger in it. All my Acquaintance have taken it, and found great Benefit. It makes them feel clear; and, besides, never fails curing the Spleen.

DOCTOR

Why don't you give it then to the *Professor*,
who,

who, as our *Advocate* says, is so much troubled with the Spleen.

GENERAL.

D—n him, it has been prescribed for him over and over; he's squeamish, swears he never quacked in his Life, trusts to *Nature* and *Constitution*, says he can't swallow *Pills*, and such Stuff, as a Man of Sense should be ashamed of; the Consequence of which will be, that he'll quickly *cast his Shoes*, and give the *Crow* a *Pudding*, and then he may be as splenetick as he will.

DOCTOR.

(*Looking down at the ORATOR's Feet.*)

I hope, Friend, you're well shod, or you may chance to go *barefoot* if you wait for his Shoes.

ORATOR.

By G—d I am less impatient to wear them than you are to get a cast Cloak; if they come as a Legacy, well; — I shall not be unshod in the mean Time, — *heark'e, (whispering.) no more of this, I see the Statesman don't like it.*

F STATESMAN.

STATESMAN.

You're in some Spirits To-day, *Doctor*. But why so many Questions to the *General*, on Subjects so foreign? hadn't you better give him some Account of the Town, which no body knows better than you, or the *Ardmagh Election*; for my Part, I have heard nothing a great while about that *Affair*.

DOCTOR.

I have heard nothing new since the *Remonstrance*.

DOCTOR.

(STATESMAN.)

A heavy Piece. I hope, Friend, you're well.

DOCTOR.

Yes, by C—t, heavy enough; more so, I think, than the *Battle of Clontarf*. I wish, however, these heavy Rascals would let us alone; because when their Pieces fall into the Hands of other heavy Fellows, they make heavy Remarks, and so much Heaviness united, will make Things go heavily.

STATESMAN.

STATESMAN.

Nay, Doctor, are you going to be heavy too?

DOCTOR.

I wish you would give me Cause to be light; is it possible for a Man to be clever on the Side he gets Nothing by?

Enter a HARLEQUIN COURIER, delivers a Letter to STATESMAN, who opens and reads.

STATESMAN.

It is come at last, and just worded in the Terms we conceived it here. I suppose this will silence all Clamour, and make it appear as plain as the Sun, that ev'ry Man, who opposes us, is a factious Person, an Enemy to his Country, a Promoter of that damnable Doctrine and Position, that ev'ry Man knows best where his Shoe pinches, that People may cry out when they're hurt, or complain when they are grieved.

LAWYER.

In Truth we have a good-natured Master, who will

44 *The* HARLEQUINS.

will let no one affront his Servants, without writing Letters on the Occasion.

GENERAL.

Ay, and without any Sollicitation on their Part.

BALOUARD.

Would to God he writ a Letter for me to some unreasonable People.

DOCTOR.

Or for me with a *French Title* at the Top.

STATESMAN.

Let us lose no Time in communicating this to our Friends.

[*Exeunt all but DOCTOR, who looks round, then steps forward on the Stage.*]

DOCTOR.

(*Solus.*)

These are trim Politicians, as my Friend Clincher has it, to beat an Alarm, when they want to steal a March. We are d—ly out of Heads,
that's

that's the Truth on't. Here are they going, *Neck or Nothing*, on an Enterprize, with but one String to their Bow, and that twisted up with such different Materials, that one or other must break. If one Man be removed, or another dies; if one keeps his Resolution, or another breaks it; if one Man recovers his Senses, or another loses them, or in twenty other Instances, if one Contingency fails them, they *break down* at once, or crack like a Squib, and leave nothing behind them but a Smell of *Brimstone*.

I knew them, and yet fate so ordered it that I never was at rest till I got among them. There's something singular in ev'ry one of the *Set* but me. One will be undone by his *Vanity*, another by his Haste, the *Miller* by *Projects*, *Balouard* by his Presumption, and will bring an old House over his Head before he's aware on't. The *Lawyer* can't be undone as yet; and, indeed, that's partly my Security. Then for their *home Politicks*, the Sum of them consists in two ingenious Contrivances, *Lying*, and *good Eating*. By the first, they frighten Fools or cajole them, and *puff* themselves in News-Papers, like *Taylor* the Oculist. By the Second, they secure in their Interest ev'ry Lover of *Tit-Bits* about Town. I don't rightly like myself in this Situation, and have little Hopes of making my Fortune among them: Two Things,

Things, however, I am sure of, good Cheer and Diversion; and, in order to enjoy them in full Latitude, I'll be quite impartial hereafter, and eat on both Sides of the Question. I will divest myself of all Prejudices against *French* Cookery and *Champaign*, as well as Beef and Claret. A Man may bring his *Stomach*, as well as *Conscience*, to any Thing; and I begin to think the last is always governed by the first. When the Appetite is craving, the other can't rest; and Peace of *Stomach* is Peace of *Conscience* at any Time. It is a Solecism in *Ethicks*, as well as *Politicks*, to apply to one till you have appeased the other; therefore I hold Promises to be directly against *Conscience*, as they don't fill the Belly; if they did, I should ha' been full long ago. My Wishes end in *Peace* and *Plenty*. If our Enemies prevail, we shall have *Plenty*; if our Friends, we shall have *Peace*; for no body can quarrel, when there's nothing to quarrel about; so ends my System.

[goes off singing.]

F I N I S.

EPILOGUE.

Spoken by HARLEQUIN ORATOR, and written
by himself, at the Request of the *Play-maker*.

*A Play without a Plot, our Poet says,
Is nothing strange, in these unplotting Days.*

Time was, when Plots in great Request were had,

And found a ready Market, good or bad;

For Court, as well as Stage, were worth the making,

And help'd the Statesman out, in bitter-taking.

But now, the Statesman's is an easy Trade,

And Plot-makers may hang, but ne'er be paid.

The Player now, no more on Plots relies,

And Johnson's Place, a Maddox well supplies.

In all Professions too, their Use is gone,

And ev'ry Plotter, sure to be undone.

To form a Plot, some Sense and Cunning claims;

But Sense will never do, for modern Schemes.

A General's Plot no farther now extends

Than how to help his Foes, to beat his Friends:

An Envoy's Plot in narrow Compass lies,

And means no more, than stipulate Supplies.

Why

1741
EPILOGUE.

*Why then the Stage, to plotting make Pretence?
When no one looks for Spirit, Taste, or Sense?
For more Excuse, our Poet bids me say,
He can't, for want of Women in the Play.
In Scrub's Receipt for making Plots, we find
A Priest, a Frenchman, and a Woman join'd.
In some bad Plots, or first, or next, is common,
But never Plot was good, without a Woman.*

*[bows and smiles till Curtain drops. Audience
claps and shouts.*

In the Press, and speedily will be published,

A N ANSWER to a late Pamphlet, intituled,
*A Free and Candid Inquiry, Addressed to the
Representatives, &c. of this Kingdom.*

2. 7. 40

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6
A N

A N S W E R

To a late

P A M P H L E T,

I N T I T U L E D,

A Free and Candid I N Q U I R Y,
Addressed to the Representatives,
&c. of this Kingdom.

*They that have not Prudence enough to keep the
Secret within their own Breast, will be the Dupes
of all such as have Art enough to bait them
properly.*

Candid Inquiry, Page 13.



D U B L I N:

Printed in the Year M D C C L I I I.

A N S W E R

To a late

PAMPHLET.

UNPUBLISHED

Free and Candid Inquiry,
Addressed to the Representatives
of this Kingdom.

that have not been
before the Public, and
of all such in the
Candid Inquiry, Page 13.



DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXII.

A N

A N S W E R

To a late

P A M P H L E T,

I N T I T U L E D,

A Free and Candid **I N Q U I R Y**,
 Addressed to the Representatives,
 &c. of this Kingdom.

TH E R E are few professions, to which the ill-nature of the world hath not annexed some particular name of infamy or reproach. Thus, the humanity of a *Butcher*, the conscience of an *Usurer*, the chastity of an *Oyster-wench*, the integrity of a *Statesman*, the manhood of a *Taylor*, and the meekness of a *Soldier*, are standing topics of satire and ridicule; to all which may be added the impartiality of a *Party-writer*.

However justly those reproaches may be apply'd to some particular men in these professions, we ought certainly to make some exceptions; for we may sometimes meet with a tender-hearted *Butcher*, a moderate *Usurer*, and even a fierce *Taylor*; sometimes a *Soldier* may be found as meek as a lamb, and *Ormond* fish-market may produce even an *Oyster-wench* of unspotted virtue; but

whether impartiality is really to be found in an hackney scribbler, who writes to please his patron, I will not pretend to aver.

The best relief for the pain which generous minds feel upon seeing a worthless man preferred to others of real merit, is the consideration of the sordid dependance, and vile subserviency to which he is obliged to submit to please his patron. He must be an absolute creature to his will, and stick at nothing to carry on his designs; he must assert falsities, maintain absurdities, and reconcile contradictions; he must be a parasite, pander, and buffoon, as occasion points out; he must be always under command, having neither passions or appetites, but as his master directs; no opinion or conscience of his own; but be as mechanical as a *clock* or a *puppet*, acquiring that by habit, which is necessity in them.

Notwithstanding every body is well apprized of the truth of this; it is very pleasant to observe the conduct of these men, when they have a bad cause to palliate, or some necessary falsehood to defend: to see how they are forced to shuffle, evade, and prevaricate; how they will bob, turn, and double, like an hunted hare, till they are driven to the last wretched shift of appealing to *authority*, and making it treason to expose their absurdities; though, at the same time, (which makes it still more diverting) they generally assure us, that, as for themselves, they are perfectly unprejudiced, and speak without any attachment to *parties* or *persons*.

These sort of creatures (though very common some years ago in a *neighbouring island*) have been rarely seen till of late in *Ireland*: But as they are a species somewhat like the *Hyena*, who is said to allure men with its cries in order to draw them into danger; it is but just to alarm my loving countrymen, and to prepare them against their wiles.

One of these wretches having lately appeared among us under the mask of a *Free Inquirer*, and having the impudence to address his scurrility to the *representatives* of the several *Counties* and *Burroughs* of this kingdom, recommending his pernicious work to be read by their several electors, in order to influence them in their present and future elections; as I hope to shew the *Folly*, *Fallacy*, and *Absurdity* of this writer, with the *low Arts* he has used to seduce unwary people to enter into the measures of him and his patrons; as I shall divest myself of all party prejudice, and intirely confine myself to animadvert on the performance of this *candid Gentleman*, without attempting to vindicate or abuse any person or party whatsoever; I hope my endeavours will be candidly received by my loving countrymen.

As to the Author of this Reply, it will be of little consequence to the public whether they are acquainted with his name or not; all that he can solemnly assure them is, that he is neither the *tool* or *creature* of any *great man* whatsoever; nor has he communicated his design of writing this answer to any such person. Doctor *Atterbury*, late bishop of *Rocheſter*, having made some objections against anonymous writers; was replied to in the dark by the celebrated bishop *Hoadly* in this manner: “ I cannot think it, says he, of much importance to any argument, whether the world knows the writer or not, unless it be, as it often proves, to lay prejudices in the way of the readers; who, I think, can the better judge of the force of any reasoning, when it is removed as much as possible from every thing personal.”

But to come without further apparatus to our *Inquirer*; who sets out in the front of his performance with a profession of his ignorance in public affairs, “ having nothing to lead him into
“ the

“ the knowledge of them, but an impertinent “ attention,” which he artfully accuses himself of, in order to brand with this vice, as he calls it, a set of men, I suppose he means the clergy, “ who “ are many of them liberally paid for all they can “ do ; and wishes the legislature would contrive “ some more effectual method to keep them close to “ the little they have.” (*Cand. Inq.* p. 4.) A wish of our author, which had it been some years ago complied with, might probably have turned out much to his benefit, for many reasons it may not be so proper to hint at.

This is not the only body of men in this kingdom he has vented his gall upon, as I shall shew in the course of these remarks ; and in another part of his *Inquiry*, he has a second dash at them ; but should these gentlemen think this hard treatment from one of their own brethren, they may reflect there was a *Judas* even among the twelve.

He has artfully on his setting out taken up this pretended ignorance as a cloak to a bad cause, all the designs of which, he thought improper to display in the front of his performance ; but that this ignorance is only assumed, seems evident, from that great intimacy and connection that appears between him and his hero, by the sketch he gives us (among the rest of his daubing) of his domestick life ; of which, he says, he was an eye-witness ; and how inconsistently does he forget himself towards the end of his *Inquiry*, where he throws off the mask of a meer coffee-house politician, and makes no scruple to avow the *stocking schemes* and intrigues of his patron ?

I will not cavil at our author's odd reasoning, where he says, (*P.* 4.) “ suspicion begets fear, and “ fear calumny ; therefore calumny is the child of “ conscious impotence.” What analogy there may be between them I know not ; but this is certain, that he and his patron ought to be conscious of
their

their own impotence of doing mischief, ever since it so glaringly appear'd last season, and ought notwithstanding his false assertion, (P. 41.)

"That the tide is turned, that it is prudent to sail along with it, &c." I say, both he and his patron, if he has him at heart, ought to fear for the event of their designs, notwithstanding all his boasted power and influence.

This prudent measure of sailing with the tide, which he has illustrated with several commonplace similies, in order to prevent men to attempt to revert, if the fact was as true as he would vainly insinuate, *that the tide was turned*, is, to be sure, a most excellent and convincing way of arguing; and since I have touched upon it, though perhaps a little too early, I cannot but observe, that, by the same method of reasoning, he might easily prove, that it is ridiculous to insist on the strict observation of any *moral* or *Christian duties*, whilst there is so general a current against them, and so little probability, that any preaching or pains will ever be able to banish vice and wickedness intirely out of the world. Yet, as the prevalence of immorality will not excuse the clergy from being zealous in their exhortations against it; so it is equally unjustifiable, and least of all becomes men of that function, to discountenance public virtue, and the love of their country, by representing the practice of them either as dangerous or romantic; and improving by these means on the *slavish doctrine of passive obedience*, by extending it to any great favourite whatsoever. Yet, in the days of the most general and infectious corruptions, a man may preserve himself pure, who will vouchsafe to live within the circle of his private fortune, be it great or small. He may stand erect, a freeman, amidst a croud of mercenaries, and dare to act, and to speak, as the integrity of his own good heart shall dictate.

" Virtue

" Virtue would see to do what virtue would
 " By her own radiant light, tho' sun and moon
 " Were in the flat sea sunk——
 " He that has light within his own clear breast,
 " May sit i' th' center, and enjoy bright day;
 " But he, that hides a dark soul, and foul thoughts,
 " Benighted walks under the mid-day sun;
 " *Himself* is his *own dungeon*."——

MILTON'S *Masque*.

I grant with our Inquirer, (*P. 4.*) " That it
 " is certainly unreasonable, and even criminal,
 " to cry out, gather a party, and make a noise
 " when no mischief is intended." But if, ac-
 cording to him, (*P. 40.*) " A person is to be
 " tumbled down to make way for another;" a
 person who has for many years executed the offi-
 ces and duties of his high station, without the
 least room for complaint; to make room for one
 we know little more of, than what the fulsom
 panegyric of our inquirer is pleased to give us;
 I say, if this be not an attack with a ven-
 geance, both upon him, and the great majority of
 the representatives of the nation who set him up,
 I know not what can be called one; and yet our
 writer has the confidence to say, (*P. 4.*) " That
 " no mischief was visibly intended;" perhaps not
 visibly, as his party loves acting in the dark; and
 confidently affirms it to be (*Ibid.*) " absurd,
 " wicked, and unreasonable, for a man to alarm
 " his friends" in such a situation.

It may seem surprising to some, how such a
 gentleman of moderate fortune, little ambition,
 and less art, could arrive at power, and preserve
 it so long, without any of the subsidiary props on
 which it has always leant, without much interest
 to prefer men, or a command of public money to
 buy them. I know but one answer to be given,

the

the known truth of which reflects an equal lustre on him and his friends, *viz.* That his unsuspected honesty procured it, and his tried fidelity has since preserved it. To those who desired no other, his bare friendship was a bribe — For to be the friend of Mr. *B—e* was thought a more happy situation, than to be the favourite of a *Vice-Roy*.

It is granted, that our sister kingdom has been for a long time plagued (as he says, *P. 5.*) “with different *parties* and *factions*, which have more or less influenced this island:” But IN THE WORST OF TIMES, when these divisions raged to excess, and even threatened to subvert the constitution of both kingdoms; the Man, whom this *impotent faction* would now tumble from that seat, where all true patriots have fixed him; I say, this man, in *those worst of times*, was ever steady to the glorious principles of the *revolution*, and the illustrious house of *Hanover*: very laudable motives, among others already hinted at, for his being raised to that envied state, his foes would now wish him to be dispossessed of.

Our Inquirer charges such persons, as were unwilling to run blindfold into the Schemes of his Patron, with the odious crime of (*P. 5.*) “renewing *parties* and distinctions long since buried; or “raising up new ones.” But it is well known, that men, who are already in place, are not the persons who raise such disturbances; but those who want to come into power are always the authors of them. The Heroes of our writer must then certainly be the *clogs* and *hindrances to the wheels of government*, which, for many years, ran smoothly on; before *they* started up to interrupt them. And to make a farther use of this Inquirer’s words, (*Ibid.*) “it is unaccountable, inconceivable almost, what should give birth to a party “here, whence faction could possibly arise, and “what manner of spirit they are of, who could

“ cherish and keep it up” against such a man. — And sure, as he further says, “ They must have profligate hearts, and devilish tempers, who would endeavour to raise that confusion here, which so lately threatened our neighbours with ruin.”

This is indeed granted; and if we reflect that great numbers in that country, who have been constantly known to oppose the government, screen their disaffected principles under the *mask of patriotism*; we may have great reason to fear, when the constant supporters of the *present happy constitution* are attacked in this kingdom, that their antagonists are carried on by the same spirit. But be their designs what they will, as they disturb the repose of their country, I heartily wish, and make no doubt, when they come to be entirely unfolded, but that the projectors of them “ will be rendered both ridiculous and contemptible.”

“ It would not be difficult (says he, *P. 6.*) to prove, if there was any one to dispute it, that we are now, and *have been for some time*, in those circumstances which every wise man would, without hesitation, pronounce the happiest.” If this be so, to whom are we indebted for such a situation? “ If our constitution be incapable of being made better,” why should his patrons attempt to mend it? And though, in the foregoing paragraph, he triumphs in saying, (*Ibid.*) “ That having got nothing for himself,” (meaning the man to whom this nation owes a considerable share of its happiness) “ and nothing to give his friends, they must despise and forsake him,” (which, to be sure, is great encouragement for the labour, fidelity, and drudgery of many years;) yet he allows, (*P. 6.*) “ it is impossible to detract ever so little from one, without giving too much to another, and thereby

“ thereby endanger the ballance upon which our safety depends ;” which he illustrates, by a very pretty simile of *mr. Maddox* the equilibrist. How is it then, “ that one man in the government” (as he expresses it, *P. 18.*) “ shall be the entire hinge upon which the door, which opens to favour and preferment, turns, always” (says he) “ a privilege of the first favourite.” Such a power given to *one* is surely a nice preservation of “ the ballance upon which our safety depends ;” given to *one*, who has no natural connection or influence on the representatives of the kingdom, or their constituents ; and to *one* who, by his office and place, hath a very sufficient accession of wealth ; and an ample power of providing, in his own sphere, for an infinite number of persons of merit, without engrossing other affairs ; but, perhaps, this would not serve the turn of a person who scorns to keep company with *pedantic divines*, but whose chiefest pleasure consists in gratifying (*P. 30.*) “ an agreeable companion in a *well-cock’d bat*, and *laced coat*.”

He cites *Mr. Hume* (*P. 8.*) for saying, “ That before any party can be formed, there must be some source of division in principle or interests ;” which observation he allows to have been formerly the case, as to one part of it ; but he imagines (*P. 9.*) “ present experience fully evinces the uncertainty or falshood of the other ;” and adds, “ here is now actually formed, and subsisting, a party among us, and numbers associating to one side or the other, without any assignable end or reason, on one side at least. And to this side no violence, no assault, either offered or intended.” Here he still thinks proper to keep on his mask of pretended ignorance, and hides, like a cunning juggler, the design “ of tumbling a certain person from that summit, to which one of his heroes

“ is endeavouring to climb.” What he calls the appearances of faction, such as “ whispers and “ spies, private meetings, sly and sullen looks, “ awkward salutations, and all his other concomitant signs of diffidence and jealousy,” may, perhaps, be visible among his hero’s party, the poverty of whose numbers makes it requisite for them to pursue such practices; but are rarely found among people, who mean no more than an open and honest defence of those principles by which they have been always actuated; and who were never afraid in the *worst of times* to support and avow them, against all their opposers, how powerful soever.

As a supposed cause of these divisions, he would endeavour to insinuate, (*P. 10.*) “ that “ wantonness, the consequence of excessive “ opulence, may raise factions among us.” A fact he neither can, or endeavours to, prove. But hints, (*Ibid.*) “ that this might be the case, “ if a certain scheme, hinted at about three “ years ago, should take place;” which was for a union of the two kingdoms: “ a scheme by “ which (he says) we should outstrip our neighbours,” and kindly undertakes (*P. 11.*) “ that “ if we do, we shall be full as vicious, frantick, “ and profligate, as ever they were, or ever “ pretended to be.” A pretty compliment surely to “ that spot of earth, which we ought “ all (as he says, *P. 5.*) to honour as our “ common parent.”

On the same principle, and false reasoning, he attempts to prove, “ that the source of all the “ *factions in Great Britain* had their rise from “ wantonness, the consequence of excessive opulence,” which (says he, *P. 10.*) “ is evident, “ if not to every reader of its history, at “ least, to every one who has studied it.”

I must confess, though I have both read, and, in some sort, studied the history of that country, I do not remember any considerable party or faction, that had its rise from, or owed its origin to, the meer wantonness of the people. There have been many parties, factions, and insurrections in that nation, long before they were very opulent, or had any considerable trade or manufactures. The *Wat Tylers*, and *Jack Straws* of these early times, were actuated by a spirit of levelling all degrees and ranks of people to the lowest class. Commerce, indeed, began to increase from the days of *Henry VII.* to those of *Oliver*, who, by the act of navigation, laid the foundation of that universal trade, that has been since carried on by the *English*. But sure no man, who pretends to have studied their history, will say, That all the various parties, sects, and factions, in the reign of *Charles I.* and *Cromwell's* usurpation, had their origin from luxury, and wealth; or that this was what spirited up the exclusioners in that of *Charles II.* or of those glorious patriots who carried on the revolution; from whence we may date the æra of most of those factions which continue to disturb that country.

It must be confessed, that, of all the nations in the world, the *English* have been the most remarkable for its fickleness, and inclination to change. They were ever in a flux of opinions, and seldom have continued fixed in any long together; which is the reason, that they have undergone so many shocks, convulsions, and changes in their constitution; perhaps more than any other people whatsoever. Whether this proceeds from that liberty which they enjoy beyond other nations; or from the natural instability of their climate (as some have imagined) seems to me a needless inquiry; but it may not be improper to
give

give a remarkable instance further of what I have above been speaking of.

To return no farther back than to the reign of K. *Charles I.* The two great factions which at that time divided the kingdom, were the *Puritans* and the *Church-Party*: The former of whom distinguished themselves by their laudable zeal, against the exorbitant measures of the court, the *incroachments of the prerogative*, and manifold *invasions of the liberty of the subject* both in *church and state*; of all which *grievances* they demanded a redress; and desired that matters might be settled on a better footing for the future. On the other hand, the *Church-Party*, or *Royalists*, went freely into the measures of the court; and undertook to maintain the grandeur of the prerogative, against what they called the republican demands of the other side. But as soon as an end was put to those unhappy contests, by the prevailing strength of one party, and the tragical death of that unfortunate prince, things immediately took another turn; the victorious sectaries began to oppress in the same manner, with those whom they had subdued; and the humbled royalists, in imitation of their old antagonists, began to clamour for the rights and immunities of the people.

At the restoration the tables were again turned, the royalists, under the denomination of *Cavaliers* or the *Court-Party*, and afterwards of *Tories*, resumed their old spirit of exalting the prerogative, when they were again exalted into power; and the *Puritans*, now called the *Country-Party* or *Round-Heads*, and some time afterwards *Whigs*, became once more (joined by great numbers of moderate churchmen) the popular advocates, and sticklers for liberty. Since that period those two great bodies have several times chopped about, and reciprocally changed sides, frequently as their leaders happened to be in or out of power.

But

But how an excessive opulence could be the cause of these divisions is impossible to see ; this artful, as well as false, insinuation of this writer, has its design, an invidious design, of ingratiating himself with his heroes and patrons, who by their attachment to the interest, or rather *false interest*, of the other side of the water, are glad of any pretence to make themselves popular there, which they think they may do, by curbing our manufactures in their infant state. I call it a false interest, because it might be made very evident, that all attempts to depress this country, must, in the end, turn to the great prejudice of *Britain* ; For the head cannot say to any of the members, I have no use for *you*. All the fruits of our industry must center there at last ; and if we are so far discouraged as to be rendered incapable of preserving the ballance of trade between the two nations, we must in the end turn bankrupts ; and consequently, *Great Britain* must lose a very valuable branch of her commerce.

I will not pretend to meddle with the conduct of our V—R— during his last or former administration ; and am as willing to acknowledge his excellent talents for government ; and allow him as much honour and applause, as either the author of the Inquiry, or any of his party can possibly afford him. But as to what he insinuates (*P. 15.*) concerning “ a report spread at his
 “ landing, that some dangerous blow was to be
 “ given, though nobody could tell what it was,
 “ with a design to make men look sharp, to be
 “ upon their guard, and to stand together,” seems extremely ridiculous. For how was it possible that so idle a scheme, if there was really nothing intended, could, as our writer says, (*Ibid.*)
 “ cause so strange a metamorphosis to follow ; as
 “ that the staunch good courtiers, (as he calls
 “ them) as if touched by some magic wand, at
 “ once

“ once became patriots ; and many before, who
 “ had passed for as staunch patriots, were said to
 “ turn courtiers.” Methinks he does no small
 honour to the former set of gentlemen, who he
 confesses, upon even a whisper of any matter to
 be proposed, which might tend to the prejudice
 of their country, quitted that side from whence
 they might have expected a suitable reward for
 complying with such measures : and sufficiently
 characterises the majority of such men, as gene-
 rally oppose the court out of resentment for being
 out of place, who are the first men, who, on the
 least change or hope of preferment, generally
 fall in with the measures they formerly opposed.
 But though no such scheme was disclosed, the
 time seeming very unfit to propose any thing ex-
 traordinary, as a great majority was evidently on
 the side of patriotism, there is no reason to suppose
 “ that all this bustle was occasioned by a certain
 “ person’s falling into a fit of the spleen,” (as he
 terms it, *P. 16.*) “ because a *neighbouring crow*
 “ had carried away his favourite egg.” Nor is it
 probable, any set of men would quit and lay
 down their offices, to gratify any splenetic person
 whatsoever, if they were not well assured their
 compliance might tend to the prejudice of their
 country. But there is much more reason to think,
 that so unlooked-for a desertion, and so great a
 majority against the *scheming party*, were the true
 reasons why they thought it unreasonable to dis-
 close their designs.

Further, this defection and murmuring did
 not happen (as our Inquirer says) immediately
 after the landing of his G— ; for during the first
 months of the session, no jobs, or disagreeable
 changes, were, in the least, suspected ; and such
 bills as might possibly tend to interrupt or disturb
 the repose of the government were passed without
 any opposition ; such as *the bill for regulating the*
stale,

file, and even an *altered money bill* were agreed to; so over complaisant, and so cautious, were the gentlemen of the H— of C— to give the least rub to the measures of the court.

The question relating to the bridge over the east end of the *Liffey* was dropt, in order to render the affected popularity of the government here, as high as possible. Nor was there the least opposition formed, until the *grand ministerial scheme* began to be discovered of a *change in the administration* of the government of this kingdom, which partly disclosed itself upon the nomination of the sheriffs of the several counties. As this is the truth of the case, I leave it to the reader, who it is that deserves the modest appellation of *bout feus* (or incendiaries, in plain *English*) with which our modest Inquirer stigmatizes some people. It must not seem strange if there were murmurings, and repinings, at the attempt to remove a person from the government, whose untainted steady virtue had distinguished him through a long course of business and of years; and that all his friends will lend their voices to increase the uproar against the offensive unpopular behaviour of the favourite; who, if he be like one of the *Gavestons*, *Dudleys*, *Spencers*, or overgrown minion *Woolsey* of former times *, will not fail to display him in proper colours.

The histories of all nations afford numberless instances of the danger of favourites heaping up too great a share of wealth and power; and the unpopularity of such proceedings. The learned *Selden* observes †, “ that the barons of old liked “ not this condition of *state idolatry*; they were “ willing to adore the king, but they were not “ willing to bow to an image;” and adds, “ that
C “ favourites,

* See *Rapin* in the reigns of *Edward II.* and *Henry VIII.*

† Discourse of the laws and government of *England*, collected from *Selden's MS.* by *Bacon*, p. 136.

“ favourites, instead of being a cement between
 “ prince and people, become *rocks of offence*,
 “ bringing ruin sometimes to all, but always to
 “ themselves.”

When a prince reserves the prerogative in his own hands, or divides it among a certain number of his subjects, to be administered in an equal manner, (as it has been most usual in this kingdom) the royal smiles, favours, and honours, as well as the offices of the kingdom, both great and small, are commonly distributed in the same *equal and impartial manner*. Whereas, when the whole power of the crown has been lodged in a *single hand*, we may observe that *grants, titles, and preferments* have been generally monopolized; and the whole bounty of a court thought little enough to satisfy the craving hungry appetites of one family. Nay, this spirit of voraciousness has been carried to such an height under former administrations, that, not content with all the crown had in its power to bestow, they have attempted to engross the favours and suffrages of the people; nor might there be instances wanting to shew, that opposing the most distant dependant of a *great man*, has been called opposing the ministry, and looked upon as a mark of malignity and disaffection.

As inconsiderable and self-interested as this observation may seem, yet it certainly ought to have some weight in a *free nation*. The late bishop Hoadly very justly remarked, in answer to one of his opponents in a famous controversy, that, “ although no man has a natural right to a place, “ yet every one has a right to get one if he can.” And if the old beaten topic of all whig writers can be justified, “ that a kingdom was not made for “ one man,” (meaning the prince,) it could not surely be designed to gratify the *pride and ambition* of any *private subject*.

In a small tract, intituled, "*Rules of government; or a true ballance between sovereignty and liberty,*" said to be written by a person of honour, immediately after the civil wars, and published in 1710; (though it is chiefly wrote in an high-church strain, which, I presume, will not be, at this time, any objection to its authority) there are contained some honest directions on this subject, which I shall beg leave to transcribe.

He tells us in one place (speaking of counsellors) "That over-greatness in one, or an over-strict combination in a few, may be dangerous to a prince. A wise counsellor (says he) will not *engross too many affairs* into his own hands, nor *encroach upon other men's offices*; nor be apt to undervalue them in them, to raise his own credit, by the loss of other men's; for he that does good offices to others, is in the best way to make himself friends to himself; and he must be patient to hear other men's advices; nay, with some respectfulness, bear their follies; and he must be unconcerned when his own counsels are not complied with, or laid aside."

But to return to our Inquirer; who pretends to the character of a meer indifferent spectator, without any attachment to either side, in order to impose on his readers as a person better formed to give a more impartial judgment, than those who act under a bias, which, he says, (P. 19.) "ruined the credit of the author of the life of Roger, and spoiled the design of that paper, whom he will have to be the creature of his hero, and to have subsisted merely upon his stock;" though it is very certain the author of that paper was intirely unknown to the s—r, and his whole family, nor ever solicited or received any favour from him. I shall point out a few instances of the impartiality of this most

unbiaſſed equilibriſt; and if abuſe on the one ſide, and fullſome flattery on the other, can merit that character, he, undoubtedly, deſerves it. In *P.* 13, he ſays, “ I ſee you are inclinable to think
 “ well of ſome people, who, others think, have
 “ forfeited all pretenſions to popular eſteem.” This he calls, making an apology for them: and with him one ſide are (*P.* 10, 39, &c.) *ambitious*, having a *ſtrong luſt for power, malicious, proud and preſumptuous upſtarts*, mortified to ſee thoſe, who have leſs wealth, in higher rank; *ſtarved and ſtunted trees*; and an infinite number of opprobrious epithets. Not to mention his abuſe of all the country gentlemen of *Ireland*, who are in the true intereſt of their country, by naming them (*P.* 38, 39.) *graziers*, and *fox-hunters*; “ people
 “ trained up among dogs and horſes, bullocks
 “ and ſheep, where a man is likelier to loſe the
 “ little good that nature has put into him, than
 “ to improve it; and can learn little more than
 “ how to make his neighbours drunk, and then
 “ bite them in a bargain; and if he ever emerges into higher life, is ſure to bring with him
 “ that awkwardneſs and bluntneſs, which, though
 “ paſſing among the vulgar for marks of honeſty,
 “ are, in that ſtate, of no other uſe than to make
 “ him ridiculous.”

But I ſhall not rake farther into our author’s abuſive dirt, with which he beſpatters at random all that comes in his way; as *Hudibras* ſays,

*Like him, who on a pair of panniers,
 Full fraught with that, which, for good manners,
 Shall here be nameleſs, mixt with grains,
 Which he diſpens’d among the ſwains;
 And buſily among the crowd,
 At random, round about beſtow’d.*

Notwithſtanding theſe reproaches of our Inquirer, which he caſts upon the country gentlemen
 of

of Ireland, as if their attachment to rural sports, and agriculture, disqualified them from places of trust and honour; he ought to remember that *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus* was raised by the Romans to the consulship, and afterwards to the dictatorship, when their commonwealth was in the most imminent danger; and was both these times called from cultivating his small farm of four acres. *Livy*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for this account, interrupts his narration in this place, to awaken the attention of his readers, by a reflection that is of all times and nations; "Let (says he) the blind admirers of fortune, who despise every thing in comparison with riches, and who think that without them there is no real greatness and virtue, give ear to what we are now going to relate."

Happy times! admirable simplicity! Agriculture was then honoured, esteemed, and considered as a qualification, rather than the contrary, for the highest dignities of the state; and we all know that, in our days, men bred up about a court, have not their morals less tainted, nor are they freer from vices of all kinds, than country gentlemen. The government of *Quintius* shews what an excellent choice the Romans made of a dictator; and what a noble nature, what constancy, and greatness of soul, inhabited a small country cottage.

To shew our writer's impartiality a little further, I must direct the reader to peruse the fawning characters he gives the heroes of his performance. Though, by the way, I cannot but observe, that, from his close connection and intimacy with some of them, he attempts to cover over, palliate, and hide, several *supposed charges*, or, rather, *conscious defects*, which could never have come from any man, who had not as close a connection with them as this writer. Some of these

these charges, he says, (P. 19, 20.) "are impossible to be true, or, if true, *incapable of such evidence, as might incline or justify any one from believing them.*" Words which, if he was inclined to satirize his hero, convey as much poison, spleen, and ill-nature, as could have issued from any one of those desperately wicked hearts" he charges a certain party to have. Thus, like a botching painter, by endeavouring to fill up a crack in a picture, which few minded but himself, he has rendered it more conspicuously deformed. Not contented with making his hero equal to other people, he gives him a kind of *papal infallibility*, when he affirms (P. 21.) "his virtues and good qualities are radical and inherent in him, which he cannot put off, though he had a mind to it, and can neither dissemble nor hide." Pity it is, but that his hero had also the power of conferring *bulls, pardons, and indulgences.*

The learned mr. *Selden*, in the work already cited, very justly remarks, (P. 88. Part 2.) "that the greater some churchmen are, unless they be better than men, are worse than men." In our Inquirer's vindication he makes it a mighty matter, (P. 28.) that his patron should continue "the decorum of family prayers, every morning at least;" though, perhaps, "under the load of public business his post subjects him to, and the attendance it requires," the duties of the evening may be passed by; as well as the pastoral care of an intire province. These charges, with some others I am about to mention, the reader will observe, are rather the artful shadowings of our author, in order to set the brighter parts of his hero's character in a fair light, than the accusations of any person or party whatsoever. For who, pray, ever asked the question, *Why catcht your master with Sadducees*
and.

and sinners? Not, that he takes upon him to answer, *Those that are sick have need of a physician, &c.* But (P. 30.) "that he believes a man may be a very safe, innocent, agreeable, and no way unbecoming, companion, though he is well dressed, and perfectly in mode; wears a laced coat, or a well-cock'd hat, &c." One would imagine our writer would make his hero one of those

Errant saints, whom wise men grant
To be the true church militant.

But to proceed with our writer's vindication; "These well-dressed gentlemen have such qualifications and accomplishments, as his patron esteems." And, pray, what are these? Why they can, says he, (*Ibid.*) "spend the evening at chess or cards, can follow a pack of dogs, &c." with other innocent amusements, agreeable to their patron. Now, pray, what is all this to the public, or who gave himself the trouble to know how, or in what manner, he amuses himself, till our writer brought these curious anecdotes to light?

However, it may not be here improper to remark, that nothing contributes more to render men indolent in the service of their country, than a prevailing appetite of *soft effeminate inventions, and wanton entertainments.* When the spirit and morals of a people are dissolved in voluptuousness, and its constant attendant corruption, by setting an example of luxury, they give themselves up to *the pursuit of private pleasure*; and care not how the great affairs of the world go on, as long as they can proceed without interruption in the enjoyment of their favourite diversions. It is well known, that the subversion of the *Roman* commonwealth, was chiefly occasioned by such a prevailing dissolution of manners; which

which was too nearly the case of *Great Britain*, in the luxurious reign of *Charles II.*

And since ill-designing ministers in all ages have made use of such methods, to throw their fellow-subjects into such a lethargic disposition, in order to facilitate their schemes with safety, whereby many flourishing states have been destroyed; let us, my countrymen, guard against such destructive methods, and not hearken to that deceitful *Siren, pleasure*; who has such an alluring power over those minds, in which it has once found admittance, that it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to free mankind from its tyranny, or convince them of their danger, till it be too late to avoid it.

Another article our Inquirer trumps up, in which he is truly an *Inquirer*, or rather an *Inquisitor*, into the conduct of his hero, is, (P. 31.) "the ill treatment he affords his clergy, discouraging them to come about him, or near him, and using them with shyness, which (he says) is too trivial a charge to deserve an apology." And yet, with his leave, the antient canon * still remains in force, and the necessity of it, which says, *episcopi se debent scire presbyteros, non dominos, nec debent in clerum dominari; episcopus se sedente non permittat presbyterum stare, &c.* But it would be unfair not to give our writer's reasons for his patron's behaviour, (P. 31.) "he thinks this is the best way to discourage them from teizing him; and being importunate in their solicitations, who are remarkably given to it." By which method his patron may preserve his power of gratifying the friends and assistants of his own boundless ambition. But if we are not satisfied with the reasons he is pleased to give us for his conduct, he begs his readers (P. 31.) "to take a trip

* *Distinct. &c.*

“ trip to *Lambeth*, where the difficulty of access,
 “ and the respectful distance observed and prac-
 “ tised there, may possibly work some change in
 “ their opinions.” Had he requested us to take
 a trip to *Rome*, it might have been more to the
 purpose; and he might also have introduced the
 ceremony of kissing his holiness’s toe.

To let no material part of our Inquirer’s per-
 formance go unanswered: I shall here reply, by
 a narrative of naked facts, to what he calls (*P. 23.*)
 “ a formal story told some months ago, which,
 “ he adds, got some credit by coming from one,
 “ who was supposed not to be so crafty as to be
 “ the forger of it; and of rank and character
 “ that, he allows, put his veracity above sus-
 “ picion; of an extraordinary overture made to
 “ him of the absolute disposal of four of the
 “ highest posts in the kingdom in the first vacan-
 “ cies, on condition he would change sides, and
 “ join to turn the stream of power in the opposite
 “ channel. This story, he says, was publickly
 “ denied by the person on whom it was charged;”
 which denial, together with some very bad reason-
 ing of our Inquirer, concerning the probability
 of this relation, is all we have to induce us to dis-
 credit and disbelieve the report.

Had our Inquirer fairly given us this story at
 large, with all its circumstances, instead of the
 few particulars above-cited; then the public
 might, indeed, pass a tolerable judgment on the
 truth, or fallacy, of the whole; but, as he has
 not done this, we shall supply his omission by a
 full relation of the whole, as follows.

In *July* was twelvemonth, *mr. T—l* waited on
 the worthy nobleman, to whom the overture was
 made, at his seat at *C—rt—n*, with the following
 proposal, “ That he might have what he pleased
 “ for himself; and (for his friends) the first
 “ vacant seat on the bishop’s bench, or at the
 D “ commissioners

“ commissioners board ; the first deanery, or rank
 “ in the army ; provided he would quit the inte-
 “ rest he was then engaged to.” The nobleman
 asked him, by what authority he brought him the
 proposal ? “ By no very good one,” says mr.
 T—l ; but told the earl, in the same breath,
 “ That his answer would be communicated to
 “ the P—e within two or three hours, who would,
 “ if he approved the proposal, wait on him in a
 “ day or two, and talk more at large to him
 “ on the subject.” His lordship then asked
 him, what authority his G— had to make such
 proposals to him ? To which mr. T—l answered,
 “ He believed from *England* ;” and then de-
 sired to know his answer, “ which if it was not
 “ sent now, it would be called for the next day ;”
 and accordingly, a servant did come for it about
 two o’ clock the day following ; at which time his
 lordship, crossing his hall, met mr. T—l with a
 paper in his hand, who desired to know, if his
 lordship’s pen and ink were in his dressing-room ;
 for that a servant was come for his lordship’s
 answer to the message he brought him, and asked
 him, What shall I say ? Shall I say that I have
 had no opportunity of speaking to you ? No,
 says the earl, say you did speak to me, and that I
 laughed at it. His lordship then observed a
 strange servant standing in the court, and asked
 one of his own, What his business was there ?
 The servant replied, he did not know him ; but
 would go to him, and inquire. The man told
 him, he was Dr. H—d’s—n’s servant, and that he
 had brought a letter to mr. T—l from his master,
 who was at L—p, where he was to dine that day
 with his G—ce, and that he was waiting for an
 answer to it.

The noble person, to whom the overture was
 made, never did say, that the proposals were
 made to him, by the person from whom they
 were

were said originally to come : But there can be no manner of doubt, that mr. T—l was commissioned by Dr. H—d—n to carry them to the earl, especially as he owned that the doctor had spent two or three evenings with him on that subject, previous to his going to C—rt—n.

Thus, I have given the particulars that gave rise to this story. Our Inquirer says, “ That neither of these gentlemen were proper instruments for his patron to work with.” But if we reflect that one of them was nearly related to the nobleman, who, on this account, might have frequent opportunities of disclosing his commission in a private manner; and, that the doctor was father-in-law to mr. T—l, and, at the same time, closely connected with, and well known to, if not caressed by the P—te; we shall here trace such a chain, as will make it appear, that his patron might have made a very proper choice of ambassadors to negotiate his scheme; and was not so very indiscreet in the conduct of it, as our author would make us suppose, if it had been really formed and carried into execution. Nor will the ill choice of a plan, or persons to carry it on, invalidate the certainty of a plot having been formed; for, if this were true, we must disbelieve above one half of the relations historians have given us of all the desperately wicked designs that have ever been hatched, in this, or our sister island.

But farther : On mr. T—l's return from the county of *Meath*, he waited on L—K— at C—rt—n; and, in the presence of another gentleman, said, That he had expressed, and repeated, to his G—ce in *Dublin*, his great fears for his father-in-law, Dr. H—d—n; and that he hoped the doctor would not suffer in the good opinion his G—ce had conceived of him, on this account. “ No, says his G—ce, he shall not; I am sure

“ he meant it kindly ; I will write to him, and
 “ comfort him.” I leave the reader now, to
 judge, as he pleases, as to the probability of this
 story ; and whether or no the noble earl had not
 sufficient reason to report it. What our Inquirer
 adds, to render the story more improbable,
 “ Whether the acquisition was worth the pur-
 “ chase offered for it” is but little to the pur-
 pose. The interest of the first nobleman in
 the kingdom could not be set at a very low
 rate ; besides, we all know, that it frequently
 happens, ambitious ministers tempt highly, and
 are often more liberal in promises, than punc-
 tual in performing ; like the arch-tempter of old,
 who promised all the riches of this world, and
 the glory thereof, to the saviour of mankind ;
 who, if he could have seduced him to have
 worshipped him, might have then retracted his
 bargain.

Thus I have touched upon the most material
 part of our Inquirer’s defence ; and tho’ I must
 wave “ pronouncing his hero either innocent or
 “ faulty,” yet I cannot but allow his Apologist is
 really, in his own words, *a very bad advocate*.

In order, as I suppose, to make the picture of
 his patron, with all its contours and shadowing,
 more fair, he affords it a dark back-ground ; and
 before he finishes it, again besets himself to bespat-
 ter his countrymen, of whom he says, (*P. 32.*)
 “ That if the generality of them were to draw lots
 “ for their characters, he questions whether many
 “ of them could be worse fitted than they are.
 “ Such as have had the happiness of his esteem
 “ have fared very badly ; and others, whom he
 “ has always despised, too well, to make it pru-
 “ dent to shew his contempt ;” and this wrong
 way of judging he kindly attributes (*P. 33.*)
 “ to the *envy* and *ill-nature* of *parsons*, and poli-
 “ ticians.”

Towards

Towards the winding up of his caricature, he turns prophet; in which character he hopes to shine, should he fail in that of an advocate for his hero. — But *Saul* (who consulted the witch of *Endor*) was he not numbered *also among the prophets*? and so shall our writer, if he pleases to take his place among any of the pseudo-prophets, from those of early times, down to the raving visionaries of *May-Fair*, or *Bedlam*; for though he prophesieth, (*P.* 33.) “that some folk, at the opening of the next scene, may be less disposed, and have less reason, to triumph, and insult, than they were at the close of the last,” he may be assured that he is but a *dreamer of dreams*, a frantic enthusiast, and meer visionary; and a foreteller of things that will never come to pass. Yet among his other ravings, like the *devil's three-legged* oracle of old, he utters some truth, (*P.* 33.) “That though a fair front, and oily tongue, may serve to blow up some men's passions, and turn them, for a while, from following their own powerful inclinations; but they will not serve to put out the eyes of the generality, and keep them from seeing where *their own, their master's*, and the *kingdom's* true interest and glory lies.”

I will not deny but that some folk, may endeavour to throw the dust of the gold coast into the eyes of some patriots; and threaten others, so as to render them incapable of discerning where, and how, the true interest of the kingdom is to be found. But, surely, he must be a contemptible physician, who discovers his patient's disease to be owing to some new methods of living that he had lately followed, and disagreed with his constitution, which was always before hale and vigorous; if he should advise him to some new-fangled experiments, and not recommend him to return to observe the rules which
formerly

formerly preserved his health. What need we then of new experiments, or new governors, in the body politic? Is it not a dangerous thing wantonly to try practice without any cause? and may it not be very possible, that, by such ridiculous attempts, the constitution of our country may suffer the fate of that of the human body, when it is tampered upon, without any visible cause, by quacks and empiricks?

Our author puts the question, (P. 34.) "whether his hero is the friend of our country, and well affected to our interest?" Can any man be said to be the friend of a country, who attempts to raise factions in it, in order to aggrandize himself; to alter and unsettle that frame of government, which has, for many years, been so happily and successfully carried on, so agreeably to all parties, having few or no rubs to disturb its course? Can any man, who is, in fact, but a stranger to us, be said, with any face of justice, to have as strong a connection and interest in this country, as those whose fortunes and families have been long settled therein? As some, who, since the days of good queen *Elizabeth* to the present times, have, in all the various confusions in this kingdom, been remarkably active in suppressing every rebellion, insurrection, and design of the enemies of the *true English interest* therein, to the hazard and loss of their lives and fortunes, as might easily be proved? Surely, *these, my countrymen*, are the people "who are embarked on the same bottom with ours, and their *safety, honour, and their* "all, are, and must be, at stake, in case of a "shipwreck." Let us not imagine with this paradoxical writer, That any ambitious man whatsoever, who has but a *temporary employment for life*, can be so far disinterested as to resist the temptation of founding a family, and raising its fortune,

fortune, on the ruins and spoils of a nation he can have no natural connection with. No, we may as well suppose an eastern bashaw will turn patriot; and that, instead of enriching himself in his despotic government, he will expend his income in founding mosques and carravansaras.

"Self-love, and that of his country," our writer says, (*P. 34.*) "are equally connected in his hero." The former I can allow him as ample a share of as he pleases; and should some part also of the latter, had he, in imitation of a certain *truly primitive prelate*, left behind him, in all places that were blessed with his residence, the fruits of his *good works*; such as schools, hospitals, and churches: But, alas! till these kind of works shine forth before men, I cannot be prevailed upon, by our Inquirer, to remove that jealousy I have entertained, that *self-love* is in him far predominant to that of *poor Ireland*.

I have mentioned these comparative instances of real patriotism, as I might some others in this kingdom; to point out the fallacy of our Inquirer's position, (*P. 34.*) "That the name of a patriot can scarce fall upon any one in this country; and that the name has (something) more in it, than a *stale pretence*, or *meer cant term*, implying only that the person, who uses it, wants somewhat, and is out of humour." It must be acknowledged, that there have been several such *mock patriots* of late, in both kingdoms; and of this our writer affords us a glaring instance, in *P. 15.* when he says, "Many, who had passed for staunch patriots, turned courtiers, at the same time that many good courtiers became patriots." But to which side the glorious appellation of patriot belonged at that time, whether to those who gave up all to follow their leader, and defend the cause of their country; or to those who, by the temptation of places
and

and honours, went over to the other side, I leave every unprejudiced person to judge.

But it has been ever the custom of all time-serving writers, to form all their notions of mankind, according as they may best please their patrons; for this reason, when any person, from a true zeal to his king and country, thinks himself obliged to oppose the ambitious views of *great men*; these writers are always ready, with the cry of *disaffection, ill designs, change of principle, disappointment, and revenge*, which they would have us regard as a full answer to the strongest reasons and representations. For judging of others, by their own sordid views, they think it impossible for any man to be actuated by any other principles than *self-interest, ambition, or resentment*; by these means they hope to discountenance truth, and bring public-spiritedness and patriotism into contempt. A great man, who has nothing but the good of his country at heart, has indeed, no occasion for such tools; and would scorn to make use of them: From whence it is natural to infer, that we may at any time, judge of the designs of some statesmen from the *favourites they chuse*, and the instruments they employ.

Those who have read, or know, any thing of the history of this country, may remember the hardships and distress it underwent during the arbitrary government of lord *Strafford*, who, having nobody here to controul him, under the pretence of asserting the fundamental prerogatives of the crown, oppressed the king's best and most faithful subjects; and, among others, the ancestor * of a certain *great man*, whom our writer, and his party,

* The said earl of *Strafford* obliged the earl of *Cork* to pay a composition of 15,000 *l. sterl.* by an arbitrary proceeding in the

party, will not allow to have merited the title of a patriot. But how fatal for himself, and even for the royal cause, were the effects of his schemes? Did not that earl's enemies make his actions, in this kingdom, the principal articles of that accumulated treason they charged him with. The third article of which was, be it, *ye patriots of Ireland*, for ever remembered, "That on the 30th of September, in the 9th of Charles I. he said, in a publick speech before divers of the nobility and gentry of *Ireland*, That *Ireland was a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them what he pleased.*" And speaking of the charter of former kings of *England* made to the city of *Dublin*, he further then said, "That their charters were nothing worth, and did bind the king no farther than he pleased *.

But to proceed with our Inquirer, who, in a few lines after he has laid it down as a maxim, (P. 35.) "That he that loves his country best, is always most watchful to preserve its constitution;" proceeds to say, "That though our governors should, at times, go beyond, or fall short, of what, in strictness, we may have a right to require of them, we ought to humour them in their demands." How this is being *watchful to preserve the constitution*, I cannot see; but one would think our Inquirer committed these blunders,

—As if he catch'd

The itch on purpose to be scratch'd.

And very excellent reasons he gives us for this
E compliance,

the court of castle-chamber in *Ireland*, which was much of the same nature as the court of star-chamber in *England*. See lord Digby's speech, against the earl of Strafford, in *Rushworth's* collection, Vol. 4. p. 158.

* See his trial in the 4th vol. of *Rushworth's* collections, p. 155.

compliance, (*P. 35.*) “None of us, (says he) that I know of, (his friends ought to be much obliged to him) are perfectly wise and good; we may not, therefore, expect always to find our governors so.” Consequently it is the best policy to humour them. One would rather suppose, that, as they are *men not perfectly wise and good*, we ought not to humour them, but rather to stand upon our guard; and watch for every occasion to preserve our constitution, such as it is. I say, *such as it is*; for it is well known, that, on this side of the water, there can be no danger of too great a bias to the popular side, but rather the contrary. For though our constitution may, in many respects, resemble that of our elder sister; yet, in many very essential points, it is, by no means, the same; and in every one of these, the advantage is fairly against us, as might be evidently made appear, was this a proper place for such a subject. Therefore every *true patriot* ought to watch with all his might, and oppose the least attempt to alter or abridge the few privileges remaining among us. “To what end the cord (to use our Inquirer’s phrase, *P. 35.*) has been pulling for several years past,” is well known to the true friends of this country; and if it wants to be slackened, it is not the popular side that ought to give way. To pursue the metaphor; it has been, for some years past, drawn one way, partly by artful engines, and, in some measure, by superior power, and it requires the skill of an *Archimedes* even to keep our hold. Therefore let every true patriot *bold fast his integrity*; and not willingly give way in what our Inquirer calls, (*P. 36.*) “the lesser matters.” For it is certainly the duty of every man to stand up for the rights of his country, however powerfully they may be at any time invaded. And many instances may be given in history, where a small opposition,

opposition, vigorously carried on, and maintained with constancy, has been found to prevail over the strongest combinations. Even despair sometimes inspires men with such a resolution, as to make them forget all danger, and surmount all difficulties, leading them on to victory and triumph. This seems to have been the case of the *Locrians*, as *Justin* relates it, who marching into the field with only fifteen thousand men, against the *Crotonians*, who had no less than an hundred and twenty thousand; and giving over all hopes of victory, resolved to fall bravely in battle, and unanimously agreed to fight it out to the last man; despair having inspired every one with so much ardour, that they esteemed an honourable death a kind of victory. But this glorious resolution had another effect; and ended in the defeat of their enemies, notwithstanding so great a disparity of numbers. *Dum mori honeste quærunt, feliciter vicerunt; nec alia causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod desperaverunt.*

Let not the fear of being falsely branded with being either disloyal or disaffected, work us into servile compliances to gratify the ambition of any single subject whatsoever. In holding fast our integrity, we shall shew ourselves loyal subjects to our prince, who, in all his dominions, cannot have people more firmly attached to his person and government, than his protestant subjects of *Ireland*; having no other hope, no possible interest, or safety, but the prosperity of him and his illustrious house; and who have been, and are, ever ready to maintain these principles with their lives and fortunes, with an *unanimity* scarce equalled elsewhere.

The man who hath been always most forward and active, in the *worst of times*, in the support of these principles; whose unbiassed fidelity, and sincere attachment, to the true interest of *Ireland*,

has appeared upon all occasions ; and who scorns all corrupt dealings to give up the cause of his country, is, surely, as proper a person to bear a share in its government, as any others whom our Inquirer calls (*P. 37.*) *Parsons* and *Dragoons*, names never heard of, or applied, till he conferred them on the heroes of his party ; the former appellation, notwithstanding his hero is supposed to be at the head of them, he, all along, takes care to stigmatize, in the most unjust and opprobrious manner. And, surely, such a man as I have hinted at, is a more proper person to share in the government of *Ireland*, than these gentlemen, (without any offence to them be it spoken) as they are strangers to it, and its true interest. And though I should allow, with our Inquirer, (*P. 38.*) that the military and ecclesiastical gentlemen, constitute some part of our establishment ; yet no man, in his senses, could wish either to see a subject's life, or property, tried by *martial law*, or submitted to the inquisitorial power of a *spiritual court*. However some men may smile at the seeming extravagance of this fancy, yet what has happened, may happen again : “ The
“ fifth article of the commons charge against the
“ earl of *Strafford*, accused him of having, on
“ the 12th of *December*, 1635, (in full time of
“ peace in *Ireland*) caused sentence of death to
“ be passed by a *council of war* against the lord
“ *Mountnorris*, a peer of this realm, vice-treasurer, receiver general, treasurer at war, one
“ of the principal secretaries of state, and keeper
“ of the privy signet of this kingdom ; without
“ any legal warrant, or other offence deserving
“ such punishment. The whole of his crime being, That one of his relations, usher to the
“ earl, upon moving a stool, happened to hurt
“ his foot, then indisposed with the gout ; which
“ being spoken at the lord chancellor's table, one
“ said

“ said to lord *Mountnorris*, It was your lordship’s
 “ kinsman that did it : Whereupon he was said
 “ to have replied, (though he denied the words)
 “ That perhaps it was done in revenge of that
 “ public affront that my lord deputy did me for-
 “ merly. For this, only, he was deprived of his
 “ places, disarmed, banished the army, and dis-
 “ abled from ever bearing offices ; and, lastly,
 “ to be shot to death, or lose his head, at the
 “ pleasure of the general.” For the truth of
 which proceeding I refer the reader to *Rushworth’s*
 collections, Volume the 4th.

It is well known also, that the said earl, by the
 authority of the court of castle-chamber, in this
 kingdom, influenced by archbishop *Laud’s* autho-
 rity in *England*, did force away the properties and
 fortunes of several good subjects under spiritual
 pretences. In the ninth article of the charge
 against him, he is accused of assuming a *power*
above law, by granting a general warrant to the
 bishops officers, to arrest all such persons as do
 not obey ecclesiastical decrees, sentences, &c.
 and to commit them ; and it was by a pretence
 of this nature, that he forced the first earl of *Cork*
 to pay a composition of 15,000 *l.* In the eighth
 article of the said charge, he was accused of
 causing the lord viscount *Loftus* of *Ely*, a peer of
 this realm, and who had been lord chancellor,
 and one of the lords justices, to be imprisoned
 illegally ; as also *GEORGE*, earl of *KILDARE*,
 whom he kept confined a whole year, because
 he would not submit his title to some lands of
 great value in the *Queen’s* county to lord *Strafford’s*
 pleasure. For all which see the trial at large in
Rushworth, where many other heinous crimes
 (such as caning a man, and imprisoning him,
 which caused his death) may be found.

How dangerous is it then to delegate too much
 authority to any stranger, who, by a constant
 residence

residence among us, may possibly, in time, subvert the little remains of liberty we enjoy.

I cannot but observe, on this occasion, that nothing does religion more prejudice, than to see those whose profession, and duty, it is to inculcate a contempt of this world for the sake of a better, busying themselves in worldly cares, and promoting differences and animosities among mankind. The actions of these set of men, when they thrust themselves into the public affairs of the world, are generally rash and cruel, and their language unmannerly and scurrilous; for as, like women, they are protected from the consequences of railing by their petticoats; so, like that sex, they commonly make no small use of that privilege.

But farther; a churchman, who meddles overmuch with state matters, *without knowing them*, must be a weak man; and he who does know them, must *be, a dishonest man*, because he must have bestowed that application upon them, which was only due to his own profession. For such a man is, in the highest degree, guilty of sacrilege; for, instead of serving at the altar, by which *he lives*, he robs the altar, at which he does not serve.

The late bishop *Burnet*, who concerned himself with these affairs as much as any man, and understood them better than most modern churchmen, was so conscious of this; and so sensible that such matters did not belong to him, nor become his function; that in his works, we frequently meet with the severest censures of such practices, which the force of truth extorted from him; at the same time they included the strongest condemnation of himself, and his own actions. It was no unpleasant observation of another writer, who says, that *a parson in politicks*, is like a monkey in a glass-shop, where he commonly

monly does a great deal of mischief, and cannot possibly do any good. For, as *Dryden* says,

Churchmen are woful awkward politicians,

They make lame mischief, though they mean it well.

Their int'rest is not finely drawn and hid;

But seams are scarcely bungled up and seen.

Don SEBAST.

As to the army, no body can have a greater respect for them than the writer of those remarks; nor is it to be imagined they are capable of being wrought upon, by any person whatsoever, to subvert the liberties of a *free* people. They are gentlemen who own but one royal master, and who, by no means, would think themselves obliged to obey the beck, or ingage in the cause, of any private man whatsoever. The bulk of them are men of worth, virtue, and understanding, in a private as well as public capacity. Their truly noble and heroic behaviour at the revolution distinguished a *British* army from the armies of other nations; and sufficiently vindicated their profession from being the instruments of arbitrary power. Nor ought the service and honour they did *Ireland*, under our glorious deliverer king *William*, be ever buried in obscurity.

Another reason our writer gives (P. 39) for the cause of our present dissensions, (though, according to all he has wrote, we have no sort of reason for complaint;) are "the efforts of his
" *young saplin*, who, with the advantage of a better root and culture, is overtopping, with its
" branches, a starved and stunted tree." There is an old proverb, that says, *ill weeds grow apace*; and although their vicinity may be prejudicial to young plants, yet they were never known to damage the *lofty oak*, who, though it may be
long

long exposed to blasts and hurricanes, still remains firmly rooted to its place.

But to quit our Inquirer's trifling allusion: it will not seem the least surprising, upon reflection, that a person, whose manners were always a true transcript of his mind, as free from haughty condescension, as from mimic politeness, supercilious reserve, or affected importance; who, as he never made professions, no man was ever deceived in his friendship, nor any person ever hurt, by him, in his fortune, by false expectations, or artful promises, nor affronted by childish disgusts after a tedious dependance; who having no vanity to sooth, vices to flatter, or follies to ape, nor ever set up for a courtier, as some persons, who are, indeed, but lacquies of a court, are pleased to do; I say, it will not seem at all surprising, if such a man should find a powerful support among such independent unprejudiced persons as scorn corruption, and have the true interest of their country at heart.

The ill-judged compliments of certain burroughs of late, to some particular men, our writer greatly triumphs in, (P. 40.) though it is well known by what mean arts, servile methods, and low cunning, these trifling favours have been procured; such as watching opportunities to take advantages of the absence of several of the members of these places, who might oppose, and prevent, the ill-judged zeal of their brethren. The paying for boxes out of their own pockets; inserting some gifts of the kind in the papers as new, that were bestowed some years ago; and the whole repeated over and over again, in such an ostentatious puffing manner in most of the public papers of *England* and *Ireland*, in order to give themselves a mighty air of popularity: a hint which, I suppose, they had originally from a certain *French merchant*, who endeavoured to gain the freedom of

of some of our incorporate towns, after his exclusion, from the house of commons, to make people abroad still think, that he was a man of some consequence.

It has been frequently observed, that satire is easier than praise; which can have no other meaning, but that these men, on whom praise is commonly bestowed, are, for the most part, so corrupt, that it requires a very nice and masterly address to form a panegyric, in such a manner, that the generality of readers shall not understand the author in an ironical sense, and take his unjust compliments for *banter*, *grimace*, and *ridicule*. When, therefore, it is said, that satire is easier than praise, we can only infer, that the pravity of human nature affords us more topics for the one, than for the other; and when we are told that it is very difficult to bestow praise, it must be understood of such panegyrists as our Inquirer, who lavish their encomiums upon improper objects, and strive to varnish over imperfections. For *Pliny*, in his excellent panegyric upon the emperor *Trajan*, very justly observes, "That it is an easy task to return thanks to one, who deserves them, since as every one is witness of his virtues, so no body can suspect that the author is not in earnest *."

Irony is a figure in rhetoric, made use of to ridicule any person, by praising him for qualities

F

of

* Merenti gratias agere facile est, patres conscripti. Non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobrari sibi superbiam credat; quum de frugalitate, luxuriam; quum de clementia, crudelitatem; quum de liberalitate, avaritiam; quum de benignitate, livorem; quum de continentia, libidinem; quum de labore, inertiam; quum de fortitudine, timorem.

of which he is known to be destitute. Thus, when a common strumpet is extoll'd for her chastity; a debauchee for his temperance; or a corrupt ambitious man for his disinterested love for his country; the irony holds good, and every body understands the author's meaning, as well as if it had been expressed in the plainest terms. Whether the design of our Inquirer was really to libel his heroes, or not, I will not affirm; but sure it is next to impossible to justify the absurd characters he bestows on them, without having some sort of resource to such an explanation of his performance. His modest panegyric on his friends, resembles a scene in *Shakespear*, where the famous sir *John Falstaff* applauds himself to the prince in the same modest manner, calling himself "a goodly portly man, of a chearful look, a pleasing eye, and a most noble carriage, his name *Falstaff*; and if that man should be lewdly given, he deceives himself." But, O force of flattery! as the witty *Cervantes* justly cries out, how far dost thou extend, and how wide are the bounds of thy pleasing jurisdiction! Is it not excellent, (says he) that don *Lorenzo* should be delighted to hear himself praised by don *Quixote*, whom he deemed a madman? And why should it seem surprizing, that a great man should take delight in having his ears now and then tickled by his sycophants; when nobody besides, will be so complaisant to do him the same good office?

The ridiculous light our *Inquirer* has put his young saplin in, ought not to be intirely pass'd over, without a few animadversions. He engages, (*P.* 41, 42.) "as the hot blood, and high spirits of his youth are over, we shall not be troubled with any sallies, or follies, arising from that cause, (and yet) his judgment is
" only

“ only ripening towards maturity ; his name has
 “ nothing drawling in the sound.” (An interesting recommendation truly !) “ Though he has
 “ not the gravity of a politician in his looks,
 “ yet, he is a sprightly person, who has *feathered*
 “ *his nest* by a good match, knows how to tickle
 “ a fair lady’s ear, were it as nice as the herb-
 “ woman’s at *Athens* ; and yet, what is wonder-
 “ ful, he has not a drop of old *Milesian* blood in
 “ him ;” (a race of men remarkable for being
 always agreeable to the ladies of *Britain*.) But
 how his not having any *Irish* blood in him can
 recommend him the better, to the gentlemen of
Ireland, is hard to discover. But to our writer ;
 who adds, “ Though he has not learned to
 “ play monkey tricks, and act like a pantomime
 “ by signs and gestures ; you see him just as
 “ he is, and you may, for that reason, trust
 “ him, with more safety.” And yet in the
 beginning of his account of him, “ he will not
 “ undertake positively for him neither ; nor will
 “ promise for him, when he has climbed up the
 “ last step of his political ladder, how he may
 “ behave himself. — But, at present,

Like the youth in his cart,
 Who has the air of a lord,

“ He has all the promising appearances, that
 “ can be, to conciliate favour, and invite follow-
 “ ers.”

With the Reader’s leave, I will just mention,
 by way of corollary to our author’s panegyric,
 a little fable out of *Osborn’s* works, which may,
 perhaps, be not thought impertinent. He tells
 us, “ That wife *Gundamour* being urged by
 “ king *James I.* to relate the true cause of the
 “ duke of *Lerma’s* declension, from the most

“ potent favourite his catholic majesty had ever
 “ raised, to a condition so deplorable, as little,
 “ if any thing, was left, besides a cardinal’s
 “ cap, to shroud his head from the insults of the
 “ populace; he made him this metaphorical
 “ parable :

“ Two rats (said he) having tempted their
 “ fortune in pursuit of livelihood and honour,
 “ fell upon an house of no less *receipt* than
 “ *plenty of provisions* ; where, for many years,
 “ they lived in the greatest sensuality their will,
 “ or wishes, could prompt them to desire ; till
 “ overcome by an ambitious thirst of advancing,
 “ together with themselves, all that could pre-
 “ tend to their alliance, or friendship, so much
 “ spoil was committed, as did alarm the *whole*
 “ *family* ; and they becoming thus numerous,
 “ had traps and engines laid to destroy them.”

Notwithstanding all his boasts of strength and power, our author closes his modest performance, with some wishes for a general reconciliation. If, by such a reconciliation, he means a sordid compliance, at all times, with the measures and demands of great men, who may have private selfish views, separate from the true interest of their prince, as well as their country ; it is the duty of every loyal subject to oppose, and use all his endeavours to defeat, them. *Cicero* very justly observes, that such a mean subserviency is rather a conspiracy, than a coalition. *Si omnia facienda sunt, quæ amici velint, non amicitiae tales, sed conjurationes, putandæ sunt.*

Neither can the conjunction of a few leading men on both sides, be properly esteemed a *coalition* of parties, or such an union as is desirable in any nation ; for, at this rate, *Cataline*, and his associates, might have sanctified their conspiracy with the name of a *coalition*, because there
 were

were wicked men of all parties engaged in that design; but we know in what light their detestable actions were looked upon by the honest part of the *Roman* people.

But by a *meer coalition*, is to be understood, the cordial union and co-operation of persons of all denominations for the good of their country; without any attachment to vain names; which can serve only to keep alive our *destructive dissensions*, and promote the views of ambitious men, at the expence of our *private happiness*, and the *public good*. As this is the only *coalition* which can either be desired or justified; so, I hope, my countrymen will no longer suffer themselves to be imposed upon by such artful *demagogues*. Let us cheerfully concur in making the true interest of *Ireland* the only rule of all our public actions; let us not run blindly into any *schemes* or *proposals*, however romantic or unreasonable, because they are offered by one set of men; nor shut our ear to any objections, however just or well-grounded, because they are started by another. This will be the only and surest method of restoring commerce, and supporting our *infant manufactures*. The judicious *mr. Locke* has finely, as well as justly, observed, "That when trade is once
" lost, it will be too late, by a mis-timed care,
" easily to retrieve it again; for the currents of
" trade, like those of waters, make themselves
" channels, out of which they are as hard to be
" diverted, as rivers that have worn themselves
" deep within their banks." The lessening the great import of corn, by the support and encouragement of tillage, loudly cries out for redress, among many other hindrances to trade. Tillage, if properly encouraged, will secure us from violence, under the colour of friendship, and protect us from domestic corruption.

Thus,

Thus, readers, I have, with decency and impartiality, put an end to the task I imposed on myself, of animadverting, with freedom, on our *Inquirer's* performance. I own I have engaged in it, without reluctance; as the detection of the designs of this party, (which are supposed to lie deeper than they have yet appeared) may help to open the eyes of those honest people who, by these juggling arts, they would endeavour to blind-fold and impose upon. And as I think what I have done is right, and is of some consequence; for these reasons, I shall be ready, at all times, to do the same again, if provoked thereto by this writer, on any other occasion, where I think *the real interest of my country may be at stake.*

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F I N I S.

In the Press, and speedily will be published,

A LETTER to a Person of Distinction in Town, from a Gentleman in the Country. Containing some Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intitled, "A Free and Candid Inquiry, &c."

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I. THE HARLEQUINS. A Comedy. After the Manner of the *Teatre Italien*. As it is now acting, with great Applause, by a Company of Gentlemen, for the Entertainment of their Friends, at the Great Room in *Drumcondra-lane*.

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V. A VINDICATION of the R—t H——e and H——e L——ds and Gentlemen, who have been basely aspersed, and scandalously mis-represented, in a late anonymous Work, intitled, *The History of ROGER*. By a Lover of Truth.

In the Press, and possibly will be published.
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THE HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
 PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE
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A

LETTER

TO

A Person of Distinction in Town,

FROM

A GENTLEMAN in the Country.

CONTAINING,

Some REMARKS on a late PAMPHLET,
intituled, *A Free and Candid Inquiry, &c.*

—Is there not some chosen Curse,
Some hidden Thunder in the Stores of Heav'n,
Red with uncommon Wrath to blast the Man
Who owes his Greatness to a Country's Ruin!

ADDISON'S CATO.



D U B L I N :

Printed in the Year MDCC LIII.

LETTER

TO

A Person of Distinction in Town,

FROM

A Gentleman in the Country.

CONTAINING

SOME REMARKS ON A LATE PAMPHLET,
intituled, A Free and Candid Inquiry, &c.

—Is there not some of these
Some hidden Things, which the
Real world conceals? It is not so clear
Who are in the Country, is a Country: Rain!
Apology, &c.



DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXII.

L E T T E R
T O

A Person of Distinction in Town,
FROM
A GENTLEMAN in the Country.

My LORD,

YOU desire my Opinion of the Pamphlet you sent me, and I think it the first unreasonable Injunction I ever met with from you : It is a Production of so odd a Nature, that it is very hard to reduce it to a Subject for Criticism : To say the Truth, its first Appearance is so ambiguous, that it has puzzled many People to determine whether it is intended to befriend or hurt the Cause it would seem to espouse. For my Part, I think that, on a minute Perusal, there is no Difficulty in seeing that the Author was seriously doing his best : There is a hearty Zeal and Interestedness appearing, in the strongest and most unaffected Colours, through many Passages of it, that must, I think, leave little Doubt of the Gentleman's Sincerity, with every Reader of tolerable Discernment.

The Difficulty I complain of does not therefore consist in any Uncertainty about the Intention of this Work, but in the Irregularity of the Manner, and Absurdity of the Matter, of the Arguments; the confident Assertions of the most notorious Falshoods, and the poisonous Virulence of the Reflections: For all these, and numberless other *Peccata* which occur in every Line, put the Patience doubly to a Trial; first, in following such an Author through all his tedious and ridiculous Perplexities; and next, in restraining from that Invective, which, however merited, does no Honour to the Observer.

I shall, however, at your Desire, let you know what occurred to me on the Perusal of this extraordinary Piece. I will take no Pains to methodize or adorn my Thoughts; they are your Due, you shall have them in their natural Dress, and, I hope, will approve them; but let your Good-nature, I beg you, act only on your private Judgment, and do not hurry them to the Press merely upon your own Liking; your Eye sees false through the *Medium* of Friendship, therefore take some auxiliary Opinion, not subject to the same Deception, to your Aid; if your Opinions concur, you have my Leave to print what I send you; if the Sentiments are nugatory or injudicious, they will, at least, do no Harm; they are the Produce of a good Intention, not glossed or varnished with a splendid Diction.

I know not yet how long my Letter will be;
but

but if it can conveniently be done, I think a News-paper will be the best chosen Vehicle for Observations on a Writer of this Class: There is a Propriety, methinks, in displaying even weak and intentional Villainy, and exhibiting an Incendiary in the same Manner, which Custom has appointed for the advertising of lesser Rogues, and hanging them out to the public Caution. — But this to your own Discretion.

I will not, however, use you so ill as to deceive you, and therefore will not pretend that your Commands have been my sole Motive for this Letter: they, indeed, have added much to my Alacrity; but I must also confess, what would certainly be collected from my following Sentiments, that I take great Pleasure in an Occasion of declaring my Feelings on a Subject of this Nature, and glorying in the Profession, that I am inviolably attached in Favour of that Interest which is the true, old Basis of this Kingdom's Welfare, and which this Writer has laid himself to ridicule and abuse; my youthful Blood beat high in its Behalf, and the Experience of many Years has applauded and confirmed my Choice. Do not, however, think yourself excused from Severity, when you exact even these pleasing Declarations from me in a Manner so very disagreeable as investigating this Author through all the Turns and Doubles of his scandalous Performance.

It is, no Doubt, thought intolerably insolent, in your polite World, that such *useless* and *inglorious* Members of the Community, as we Country Gentlemen are, should presume to speak of political

political Movements with any Degree of Freedom; but it will be so, even in Despite of ourselves; few landed Men find themselves free from this impertinent Piece of Vanity; I don't know how it is, but a Property in the Soil of the Country will still bring with it not only a Solicitude and Concern about every public Measure, but also an idle, tho' irremovable, Prejudice that we have both a Right and a Power of censuring them; nay, a better Right than many who, though concern'd in the Conduct of Affairs, are no Sharers in the Events that may happen.

I wish you had told me who is thought the Author among you, for, at this Distance, it is hard to guess; every Reader has, indeed, the highest Reason to suppose in general, if not from the Môtto, at least from the Matter and Form, of his Treatise, that this excellent Dissertation on Politics and Properties is the Work of no other than some little, sour, attending Chaplain; all that Rancor and Bitterness, that entire Deficiency of Humanity and Politeness, that Steadiness in Falshood, that alternate Adulation and Insolence, both exerted with precipitate Stupidity, and that *feeling* Manner of exhibiting his grand Patron's *domestic Virtues* and *Generosity*; are palpably the Effluvia of such a Composition, the Result of, *at least*, two debauched *Parts*, a pampered Stomach and a heated Brain. But I wish we knew the Name; for my own Part, had the Book a little more of the Buffoon in it, I would venture to answer for the Author, and fill up the Blank in the Title Page, with the recommendatory Epithets of *Apostate*, *Parasite*, and SPY.

But

But to proceed to my Task. — Our Author sets out with a very effectual Recommendation of his Performance; he tells us “ That every Person who walks the Streets knows as much of these Matters as himself; ” “ that, indeed, he has no Opportunities of coming to a Knowledge of them, and that tho’ there are Divisions among us, yet the Causes of them are known to but few, if any.” Nay, he informs us (in *Page 9.*) that “ neither the Leaders, nor their Associates, know what it is they contend about.” From all this one would expect but a very indifferent *Ecclaircissement*; but the Author, after a Flourish or two more, steps with the greatest Ease into a profound *Inquiry*, not only into the Nature and Particulars of our present Feuds, but also into those latent Principles in the human Breast, from whence these Divisions take their Rise.

He next proceeds to play upon us that stale Device of Innovators, and their Adherents, to lay our Caution asleep by inculcating a Notion of Security, and assuring us, that no Harm is intended. This Stroke of Policy he often repeats, and tells us, as a farther Motive to Peace and Harmony, that *England*, our *common Parent*, is now without Parties and Distinctions, and that in all *Deference* and *Duty* to her we should follow her Example. Whether this Fact, or the Conclusion drawn from it, be just or not, we are obliged to our Adviser; and beg Leave to assure him, that we are as well inclined to enjoy the ineffimable Blessings of Tranquillity as *England*, or any other Nation under the Sun, and (in *Swift’s* Phrase) to possess our Brogues and Potatoes in Peace; who are they then that hinder us? This

This leads me to an Observation which may help my Author out of the political Difficulty into which he has plunged, in P. 11, & 12. and enable him to reconcile those seemingly contradictory *Phænomena*, which the great Curiosity of his Researches has in that Place started to his Imagination.

He there is pleased to represent us *Insulars* as disposed to Faction, and proud to change to a prodigious Degree, allows this was not the Character of our Forefathers, and then puzzles himself for the Causes of the Change. By *Insulars*, I presume, he means to distinguish US of this particular Island, or he speaks quite foreign to the Purpose. Now that WE not only have been, but are, *at this Day*, distinguishable for a natural Propensity to social Benevolence in private Life, and to the most pacific Measures in public Concerns, let History, let our recent Conduct in the most dangerous Crises, and our universal Character among Foreigners, evince. This being undeniable, a Clue will be easily found to lead to the Source of our present Divisions; which, I fancy, will be found to take their Rise, not from our *natural* Dispositions, but from the Assiduity of some choice Spirits, who have imported, among other exotic Fashions, the laudable and noble Principles of spiritual and military Dominion. *French Heraldry* will tell you, these two are the *Supporters* of the royal Arms of that Kingdom. Now, because we have a Whim in Favour of our *old Way*, this Gentleman says we degenerate from our honest Ancestors. True it is, indeed, that for many Years neither *they* or *we* have had such a Tryal of our *national Tenacity* as at present; thro' that happy

happy Period the Felicity of a poor, but quiet, Situation has crowned this Isle. Struggling thro' the Disadvantages of an unreclaimed Soil, and a limited Commerce, we were not worthy the *Attention of polite Strangers*; hence it was, that, as our Author observes, we could *then* look forward with *Pleasure*, and provide for the Happiness of Posterity — that noblest of human Cares!

Permit me here, my Lord, to digress for a Minute into a favourite Sentiment; I have always thought that a tender Regard to the succeeding Generation is one of the most infallible Directors both in private and public Life; in the first, it is the best Preservative of our Souls, our Bodies, and our Fortunes; and as to Politics, it must, I think, effectually prevent that greatest of human Evils, *the concerting or assisting any public Plan, which, to gratify the Ambition and Avarice of a FEW, must curtail the Liberties of the Unborn.* Who, that will allow himself the least Reflection, can bring himself to tie the *indissoluble* Knot of Misery on the infant Hand, for the paltry Lucre of a *temporary* Place or Pension? Can the Promoters give an Equivalent for the Mite of a single Suffrage toward so iniquitous a Scheme? *SOME*, it is true, may think their Families sufficiently *secured*, and *OTHERS* may be indifferent to the Welfare of Posterity, as they are to their Procreation; but these are so very few, that this Argument may be said to be universally affecting.

I stand not single, my Lord, in this Opinion; thousands of honest Hearts can vouch its Truth, and Antiquity sanctifies the pious Tenet.

riages, were encouraged as much to secure the Loyalty of the living Members to the Republic, by interesting them in its Fate, as to increase its Potency by the Accession of new ones. Eunuchs were introduced into Power by the politic *Cyrus*, as being detached from all Connexions with the present and future Race of Mankind, and, consequently, devoted to his Designs. For the very same Reasons they were excluded all Share in the Administration by the good *Severus*, who held them in Abhorrence: he saw both from Theory and Experience what Mischief they were capable of; selfish, pampered, designing, ambitious, and destitute of every endearing Tie that enlarges and amends the human Heart, they aimed solely at their own Elevation, and were Enemies, by Principle, to the public Good. Among other distinguishing Parts of their Character in those Times, we find the following remarkable one, *CLAUDENTES Principem suum, et agentes ante omnia NE QUID SCIAT.*

But to return to my Author. — The Tenor of what he labours, from his 5th to his 12th Page inclusively, seems to be this, as well as can be collected from the irregular and ambiguous Manner of his Writing; that our Veneration toward our Neighbour-Nation *ought* to be such, as effectually should stifle all Animosities among us; that our Constitution is carried at present to the highest Pitch of human Perfection, and that nothing but the most unjustifiable Caprice could incline *us* to that *Desire of Change* by which *we are now* so violently actuated. This, I think, includes the Substance of all that is said in the above-mentioned Interval,

Interval, and bears this obvious Paraphrase,
 “ that we *ought* to have, but have not, a great
 “ *Veneration* for *England*, as *our common Parent*;
 “ and that, omitting this, we break through all
 “ *Rules of natural Affection, Gratitude, Interest,*
 “ *Duty, and Dependence* ;” “ that our Constitu-
 “ tion, though so excellent, is odious to the rest-
 “ less Spirits of this Island ; that we are become
 “ turbulent ; and a *Faction* is *sprouting* and *bud-*
 “ *ing* among us, whose Intentions are to destroy
 “ its *exquisite Equilibrium*.”

The Justice of these Insinuations I leave to the public Decision, and the due Resentment against the Propagators of them, to the Breast of every honest Man in the Kingdom ; the Flame of conscientious Integrity and Loyalty must kindle, in an Instant, at such insolent Misrepresentations. But this is not all ; we, who are Eye-witnesses, can easily see and refute the Falshood ; it is not therefore intended for *us* ; this babling Author does but echo the Cry of the Leaders of the Pack ; the grand Machine to be played upon our Happiness, is to confound the Interests of the Constitution with the Interests of the *Party* ; and, on opposing the latter, we are represented, on the other Side of the Water, as *disaffected Subjects* to our Sovereign, and *dangerous Rivals* to our *English Brethren*. Thus is private Ambition to be gratified under the Pretext of the public Good, all Opposers to be branded with the Epithet of *factious*, and the most dishonourable Odium to be thrown upon the general Principles of this loyal People : nay, so far down does this deep-laid Plan descend,

that a paltry, mercenary Judge of Assize shall catch the Cue, and, on his Return from Circuit, make a solemn Report of the *Disaffection* of a Set of Gentlemen of the most unsullied Fame, and extensive landed Properties in their Counties; Vouchers and Securities for good Behaviour, sufficient, one would imagine, to overthrow the Authority of the combined *Bench*.

But surely, we may, notwithstanding this, keep up our Spirits, and not fear any bad Effect from this detestable Manner of Proceeding, however enraged we may be against the Authors of it. Our King, his Ministers, and the People of *England*, will respect our *Actions* as the surest *Spokesmen* for our Principles, and will not fail to allow them all that Weight which we flatter ourselves they deserve. On a late important Juncture we manifested a Firmness to our present glorious Succession, *full as* inviolable as any to be found in the royal Dominions. A great Part of this was, *doubtless*, owing to the *Statesman* who govern'd us at that Time: But I question whether a political Casuist would not allow *some small* Portion of the Merit to the Disposition of the People, especially as there were some Commotions in our Neighbourhood, where there was a Multiplicity of Statesmen at the Helm. To add an undeniable and more recent Proof of our carrying our Loyalty and Affection even to a *Nicety*, look back to the exemplary Proceedings against an inconsiderable Individual, tempted by an ill-judged Zeal to treat our Governors and *English* Friends in Words that seemed to want their due Respect,
and

and let our Alacrity, in punishing this offensive Incaution, speak aloud in our Behalf.

In short, it is to be seen through all this Part of our Author, that he would have us, in every Instance, consider ourselves as *Englishmen*; we are to venerate the Hem of every Garment which comes fresh out of *English* Air, and assist in the Promotion of *every Scheme* proposed to us by such as bear a Commission signed there, on Penalty of being stigmatized with the Mark of DISAFFECTED; and what is all this for? “Why truly, says the Author, because, sooner or later, we all have issued from thence.”—Here, had he but Sense or Ingenuity to observe it, he has reconciled the whole Matter in his own Words; for though the Majority of us are descended from *English* Families, yet, I believe, few will be brought to think that it is of no consequence whether we have come *sooner or later* from thence; they, who fall under the last Predicament, have signalized themselves too much for us easily to forget the Distinction.

I cannot help repeating here a Circumstance, which, though low in itself, has Dignity enough to serve as an Illustration to our Author's Argument. An honest Fellow, of this Country, came to *London*, when I was there; I met him the Day he arrived, and made some Proffer of alleviating the solitary Uneasiness which Strangers usually feel in that Metropolis: *Let me alone, my Dear, says he, by my Soul, this is my own Country, FOR my Grandfather's First Wife was born in Cheapside.*

Thus,

Thus, my Lord, you have an *Irish* Tale for his more polished one of the Nobleman and his Lady; which is so applicable, edifying, and new, that it calls for our Acknowledgments to the Author, who, really, between antique Quotations, and genteel modern Anecdotes, so agreeably diversifies his Performance, that nothing can more strongly display the Union of the Scholar, and the pretty Gentleman.

In the Course of his expatiating on these Sentiments, it is not unpleasant to observe, how he slides into a Variety of Expressions, extremely *picturesque*, and glowing with the proper Colours of some Characters whom he, by no means, intends to display. Thus, in *Page 5*. "THEY
 " *must have very profligate Hearts, and very de-*
 " *vilish Tempers, who would endeavour to raise the*
 " *Devil here; nay, they must be weak as well as*
 " *wicked, &c. and if it be only the Pride of heading*
 " *a Party, to raise their Dignity by demonstrating*
 " *their Importance, the Result will probably disap-*
 " *point, &c.*" And in *P. 10*, "SUCH as possess
 " *large Shares of Wealth will be hot, tumultuous,*
 " *and unruly; they will not only be impatient of*
 " *Restraint, but grasp at Power, &c.*" "PRIDE
 " AND PRESUMPTION *indefeasibly grow out of*
 " *HASTY ADVANCEMENT, and the greatest Mor-*
 " *tification TO UPSTART PRIDE, IS TO SEE THOSE*
 " *OF LESS WEALTH IN HIGHER RANK, AND*
 " *MORE RESPECTED, &c.*" But above all, in the Beginning of the 14th Page, one would imagine his chief Patron was sitting for his Description, though it is evident, on the whole of the
 Context,

Context, that it is a Scrap of that Scurrility vented every Day in Cabals against a Man who is an Honour to his Time, and to his Country. Many such involuntary Likenesses of his own Friends may be seen through this Author's Performance.

Much more may be said on this Part of the Pamphlet than is worth troubling you with; the Reader may see almost every Line abounding in Sentiments correspondent with those which I have already remarked.

But an extraordinary Stroke occurs in P. 11. He seems to retract a Concession he was on the Point of making, and will not allow *us* any Degree of Opulence, for that would admit of an Inference by no Means to his Wishes. However, to comfort us, he immediately after assures us, that our most sanguine Wishes would be answered, if a *Scheme, proposed about two Years ago, should take place*; and the only Fear the good-natured Gentleman has from this *glorious* Event is, that we shall grow too rich and too happy upon it, from whence may arise *Vanity, and Luxury, and a vicious, frantic, and profligate Behaviour*.

For my particular Part, though fifty Winters have so far reduced my Passions to the Authority of Reason, as to inspire me with a thorough Disgust and Contempt for the Folly of Vanity and Luxury, yet I would, with great Security of Mind, give my Consent to open the Sluice to all that Inundation of Wantonness with which this Author fears our Country would be overwhelmed in Consequence of this Event. To be sure it is hard to say, how far the Affection of our Neighbours

bours may tempt them to force upon us a Proportion of Happiness that may taint our Morals, and turn our Heads. But, I think, one may, with some Degree of Probability, say, that they would act the *Physician* as well as the *Friend*, and that every *Plethora*, which might accrue, would be prevented, from doing much Mischief, by proper *Evacuations*. Thus should we, in my Opinion, be secured from waxing wanton and vicious; but should any Degree of Infection steal in among us, we might have our spiritual as well as *political Doctors* sent us, who, by their exemplary Lives, and excellent Endowments, would thoroughly exterminate every Kind of Immorality, and propagate the Interests of Virtue; the Specimens we are at present, and have been heretofore, blessed with, leave us no Room to doubt about their Conduct in this Particular.

I own I think it a little odd, that this worthy Author does not do us the Favour of dwelling a little upon this Subject; one would imagine that a *Catastrophe*, of this Nature, deserves a little Pains to recommend and make it palatable; for, whatever he may think, we, *of this Country*, cannot help thinking it a Change of too much Importance to be rashly agreed to; nay, I can tell him, that some of us have so much of the Stupidity of the Climate in our Brains, as not to see distinctly all these Advantages arising out of it to this Kingdom, which are so palpable to the Eyes of Politicians; and, what is more than all, some of these very Persons, whose Assent to the Affair may, *perhaps*, be deemed necessary, are positive enough

enough to think, that no human Assurances, no Compacts, though ever so solemn, no speculative Conclusions, though ever so artful and masterly, nothing under an immediate Voice from Heaven to injoin it, can, or will, be sufficient with them, or any Man of Sense or Principle, to run the dreadful Hazard of the Effect of such a Scheme. This may, possibly, be an Error in us, and we may be pitied, by clearer-sighted People, as blind to our own Happiness: But our national Bigotry to old Customs is well known, and I really fear this is one of the Instances in which our Natures are irreclaimable.

But what are we to conclude from his superficial Manner of speaking of this *intended* Change? Surely, he can't be weak enough to think us reconciled to it: It is, therefore, either because it will not stand the Test of a minute and candid Discussion; or, that he imagines it needless, as impossible, to make it palatable to our Reason; for that it is not *that*, but our Passions are to be influenced, in order to effect this Scheme; Corruption and Menaces are to be the Instruments to work with, and Ambition, Avarice, or Fear, the leading Qualities of every Man who joins in its Promotion.

I shall not now, unnecessarily, detain your Lordship's, or the Reader's, Time, by enlarging on the many unanswerable Objections to this destructive Revolution; such as, the small Security we should have in our Representative Body, reduced (at least) to one Third of its present Size, and transported, once a Year, to stand our Bulwark

in the midst of five hundred Persons, who, tho' extremely well disposed to the Welfare of this *useful* Island, may yet chance to differ, sometimes, in Opinion from the aforesaid tiny Corporation; the *Possibility* that, out of these our Champions, one half, or more, may so far contract an *English* Taste, and fall in Love with some pretty Employments, as to forget poor *Ireland* in a good Measure; more especially, as they might not have left many valuable Memorandums behind them; the Convenience that some of the current Coin of this Kingdom would be of to these our *Residents* in *London*; the Dilapidations that may accrue to Mansion-seats and Improvements, and Beggary to Tenants, by Means of their absent Owners; the Addition to the Number of our, already too numerous, Absentees; the Decay of our Metropolis in its Imports, Manufactures, Buildings, and Inhabitants; the Care that would be taken to prevent us from outstripping our Neighbours, by levying a few superfluous Shillings in the Pound, among many other salutary Laws, which would prodigiously encourage the Cultivation of this Country, and forward our present thriving Situation, and against which we could never murmur, as having given *our own Consent*. — All these, and numberless other Considerations, that must strike the Attention of every Person interested in the Fate of this Nation, I shall forbear to dwell upon at present, and refer the curious Reader for a more particular Investigation of the Mischiefs that must arise to us, from this Event, to two Pamphlets, published about two or three Years ago,

ago, in which he will find the principal Arguments, on both Sides, set in Contrast to each other, and will see, in the strongest Light, the Superiority of the Negative.

It is an old Observation, my Lord, that there is no Tenet in Philosophy so absurd, but has had its Advocates; the same may be certainly said of Politics; Vanity and Singularity are, generally, the Sources of the first, and may have their Share in the second; but, I believe, there is an Ingredient in the latter, which seldom enters the Composition of the former, and that is Self-Interest. The Philosopher is little the better whether a Planet be in *Conjunction* or not, though the Party-Writer may receive some Emolument from the *Union-Scheme*; the Speculator will never be the richer for shewing that this Globe of ours moves in a Circle or an Ellipse, but the Politician may find his Account in driving us into *Excentricity* out of that *proper and distinct Orbit* in which our Creator has placed us, and in which we have revolved, with small Variation, from the Beginning. This Hint every Reader, and Hearer, of new-fangled political Systems, should bear in his Memory, and use his Caution accordingly, more especially at this Time, when a temporary Power of *distributing* makes it the *Interest* of many to recommend a Scheme, which a small Share of Penetration must demonstrate to be the most monstrous, detestable, and pernicious, that ever was formed against the Happiness of a Kingdom.

But I am growing more prolix than I intended; so hard it is to controul a Course of Thought on

an interesting Subject, be the promoting Cause ever so mean and frivolous.

The Interval, from the 14th to the 17th Page inclusive, is a Jargon of the thickest-laid Falfhoods that were ever obtruded on the Public, as, indeed, it must necessarily be, when the Design was to vindicate the most iniquitous Plan of Proceedings that was ever concerted against the Repose of a deserving People. The many Untruths and Contradictions; that every Line contains, I shall leave to the Animadversion of every Reader who knows any Thing of the Transactions of last Session; one or two, only, I cannot refrain from speaking to. The first is, the strange Metamorphosis he speaks of, where “*the staunch good Courtiers,*” “*as if touched by some magic Wand, at once became Patriots; and many, who had formerly passed for staunch Patriots, were said to turn Courtiers.*”

— Now, the Truth of that Matter is, that *those*, who then became (as he says) Patriots from Courtiers, in Fact underwent no Change, at all, but in the *Manner* of exerting their former constant Principles; they were always *Patriots* in the true Sense of the Word; they shewed an equal Attachment to both Parts of the Constitution, in order to keep the Ballance poised, and thereby preserve the Good of the whole; they kept up the Dignity of the Crown, because it was necessary to the Support and Happiness of the People. On the other Hand, these splenetic Opposers, who (as our Author says) *had formerly passed for staunch Patriots*, either from Envy or personal Pique to the Head of the other Interest, or the
 Hopes

Hopes of having their mighty Eloquence and Importance bought over by warm Employments; these Gentry, to their immortal Honour, these PATRIOTS, united all their Force with that Association, whose every Scheme tended, in the most dangerous Degree, to the Ruin of the Country. The *first* acted consistently with their Conduct of many Years before; they *were* and *are* the Guardian-Angels of that political Equipoise, on which our Felicity depends; and, as such, flew off at the Appearance of *Ambition* incroaching under the Mask of *Authority*.

How conformable the Conduct of the other Side, on this Occasion, was, to their former Declarations, is most contemptibly apparent. Good Heaven! what a Sight! to see the HONEST MAN, the *inflexible Prince of Patriots*, standing single in the Negative to every Resolution that passed a Censure on a *dishonest Servant of the Public*, and, through him, on his Supporters, who made the Protection of a Miscreant the Trial of their Abilities, which were next to be turned upon the Vitals of the Country! How low is he fallen! How irretrievably lost in every Opinion!

But, to do Justice to his Masters, he has got his Reward, and so have others of the same Class; so that, though inconsistent with their Appellation, they have exactly pursued their Intentions, which, doubtless, long have been to watch a divided Channel of Power, and throw themselves into *that*, whose Waters may raise them on the Surface, though their Country should perish in the Deluge; by this they have the double Enjoyment

ment of opposing the Interest they inveterately hate, and receiving those Emoluments from one Side, which their Want of Principle, and Want of Consequence, have long since shut the Door against from the other.

You remember, my Lord, *Shakespear's* Image of the Fluctuation of human Matters, *the Tide in the Affairs of Men, which taken at the Flood leads on to Fortune; omitted, all the Voyage of their Lives is bound in Shallows.* — To this Tide have our *Patriots* committed themselves; and, I fancy, a political Philosopher will think they are now at High-Water.

But for ever be remembered, for ever honoured, the Names of the illustrious Few, who, though formerly hurried, by their Friendships and Connexions, into a Path distinct from our Country's Friends, now generously relinquished every inferior Gratification, and buried every private Animosity in Oblivion! Their COUNTRY called, and spread its inviting Banner, to which, with Alacrity, they repaired, and, by their inviolable Firmness, shared the Glory of *IT'S* Victory.

The String of Interrogatories, so impudently produced in the 17th Page, are, really, very unparallelled; there is not a single one of them to which an Answer, directly contrary to the Wish of the Questioner, may not be, with the greatest Truth, returned; I shall, therefore, take my Leave of them, and proceed to the grand Design of his Work which next appears, only observing the great Modesty and Reasonableness of our Author, in deciding so material a Matter by his
single

single Authority, as he does toward the End of this Page.

Give Ear, ye Nations, let *England, Ireland,* and *Italy* rejoice at the Sound of the Praise, and Enumeration of the VIRTUES, of our Metropolitan! An arduous Task! — But our Author takes the easiest, and, indeed, the only, Method, of performing it; he invents, and asserts, them. Conscious of his own Dependence on him, he takes more than ordinary Pains to blind us into a Belief of his Impartiality, confesses, that *what comes from a Man, tied fast to a Party, must pass for nothing*, and blunders at the Author of *Roger*, rather than omit a Stroke at a Pamphlet, which is never to be forgiven by the Proprietors of the Characters it so humourously, and justly, exposes.

To represent the Man, who is in this Kingdom the best intitled to the first Honours, and greatest Confidence, both of his Sovereign and every Vice-Roy, as discontented *only* on Account of the Preference shewn to another, and every Odium thrown upon the last as taking its Rise entirely from this Source, is an Insinuation as ridiculous as false. It is, indeed, very true, that a Deficiency of *proper Qualifications* prevented the first from being joined in *the Cabal*, and changed that Deference, which was his Due, into an insolent and inveterate Opposition. We will allow that he has, all his Life, wanted Passions and Principles adapted to the *managing* Junto, and he is, at the same Time, so happy as to want every Wish of enjoying what he is thus, by Nature, unqualified for; but to rest the numberless Imputations thrown,

thrown, from *every Quarter*, upon the other, on this chimerical Foundation, no Person will consent to, when *Vouchers*, and *Facts*, offer every Day to support them.

I shall not, however, unnecessarily task myself to develop the Injustice of the Eulogiums which our Author has here so plentifully bestowed on his Patron; they are, indeed, no more to the promised Intent of his Book, than a Catalogue of the Virtues of an Hero of Antiquity; for though the Head of our Church were indued with every Excellence of *St. Peter* in his private Capacity, few Persons would therefore rest their political Belief on his Infallibility, and follow him blindfold into destructive Measures, though his Sanctity were infinitely more rigid than even his own Writer adventures to describe it.

I shall, therefore, only desire the Reader to observe, whether he does not see this *Artificer* of Virtues chuckle at his Arrival in his well-known Province of Adulation, and revel there at large: With what a prodigious Shew of Impartiality he conducts the whole; and how particularly eminent this appears in two of his Assertions; one, that the blackest Crime alleged is *impossible* to be true; the other, that none of these Aspersions were thrown till within these three Years. A competent Knowledge of human Nature will sufficiently answer the first, and every Person's Memory the latter.

The subsequent Story is of the same Connexion with the Title Page as the precedent Encomiums; but he has descanted on it in such a Manner, that I must beg Leave to speak a few Words to it.

That

That the Offer, there mentioned, was made to that Nobleman, all, that I have met with, rest thoroughly convinced of; that on being made public, it was flatly and peremptorily *denied* by the worthy *Source* of the Proposal, is also, in the highest Degree, credible, and as universally allowed to be no Argument against the *Fact*; it is, indeed, most exactly of a Piece with many other Procedures of the same Person. And, that the Offer was *TANTI* will, I believe, be as little controverted. Were the Acquisition of a Person of his Rank and Property (whose very Appearance, in Favour of a Cause, must throw more Lustre and Credit upon it, than the whole Bench of Bishops) of no more Value than this Author pleases to represent it, yet even *one, two, or three* Voices would be worth a *Promise* to the desperate Party; and how much more than a Promise would be paid for any such Services, when the Scale was once turned, may be judged from the distinguishable Honour and Honesty of the Promiser, and other Leaders of that Side of the Question. Supposing, therefore, all the Disparity that is insinuated between the Offer and the Value to be received for it; yet, to every one who is acquainted with the Character and Conduct of the Bidders (and the lowest of the People, they *would govern*, consider them in their proper Light) it will never affect the Probability of the Fact, but only demonstrate the wretched Despondency they were then labouring under, offering exorbitant Interest for ready Money, like Bankers on the Point of failing. But, that the Person *attempted*

D

is,

is, and will be, of more Weight and Significance, in the political Ballance, than a *Feather*, or a *Grain of Sand*, we will submit to the Determination of the Event, when every Friend of *Ireland* shall, with Joy, behold it preponderate on the usual Side; Ambition, Avarice, Corruption, and Vice of every Kind, will then *fly up and kick the Beam*, and there suspend aloft most eminently ridiculous to the most inconsiderable Spectators.

The Author's Art, in this Place, is really pleasant enough: he would invalidate the Charge by telling us, "that this Proposal was made to the
 " Nobleman at second-hand, and to that second by a
 " third; this, says he, must take away all Authority from the Story; nor could one of his *Experience and acknowledged Abilities* be so indiscreet in conducting such a Scheme." We will, indeed, allow his Patron to have some Experience and Abilities in *bugger-mugger, private* Matters, though destitute of every Quality requisite for public Administration; good Sense, and Cunning, are not only distinct, but rather incompatible, and he must be dreadfully unfurnished with the latter, who would, in Person, make so criminal an Offer to one whose Integrity would flame at the Mention, and prompt him not only to expose, but instantly chastise, in proper Terms, the insolent Proposer. It is true, indeed, that even in this Case an *easy* Recourse could have been had to the *old Expedient*; the whole Proceeding could have been *flatly and peremptorily denied*, but not to much Purpose; for, I believe, few will think, with our Author, that *neither* of the Parties could be capable

ble of a direct Lie ; so that the black Overture would, in such a Case, have been instantly and directly fixed on the prime Source of it. All this was foreseen, and Emissaries, therefore, employed to employ others to make the Proposal to the Person aimed at ; by passing thus through a Multiplicity of Hands, it became easy, at any Time, to deny, and retract, and throw a Mist, as they imagined, around the whole Affair, in Case of a Refusal. But I cannot help thinking it was a little shallow ; for the Method of Proceeding was so extremely *like* and *natural*, that it throws the highest Lustre of Credibility on the Story, against which the Author produces it as a formidable Argument.

If it were as true, that the mitred Invader of our Peace is *as much above every sordid Art of Corruption, and has too much Virtue of his own to traffick for the public or private Virtue of another*, as that the Nobleman, before-mentioned, *scorns every Temptation to Vengality*, and exerts a Spirit that will make him honoured and beloved by Posterity, our Church and State would not be infested and dishonoured as they now are by the Possessor of the first Dignities in both.

The additional Motive urged, at the same Time, to gain this noble Proselyte, our Author treats as incredible from its Absurdity ; and the Absurdity, according to him, consists in these two Particulars ; 1st. “ That a Man must divest himself of *all Probity* before he could bring himself to think of such an Expedient.” 2. “ That it was what he, nor no Man upon Earth, could

“ undertake for, nor, with all the Power of the
 “ Crown centered in himself, could make good.”
 The first we will readily grant as an undeniable
 Proposition, but, by no Means, as an Argument;
 the second we must as readily deny, and, for its
 Falsity, refer every Reader to a short Reflection
 on the Nature of our Constitution, by which, as
 well as by a little Experience, he will plainly see
 the Connection between those who have the
 Power of appointing, and Sheriffs, or other re-
 turning Officers, Juries, and Judges; these last
 particularly are well known to have much Influ-
 ence even on Trials, where they are properly no
 more than Explainers and Pronouncers of the
 Law, (to the Shame of *those* who are the *only*, the
true, and *independent* Judges of our Properties) not
 to mention the many Circumstances in which we
 have no Assistance from our *Peers*, but depend
 solely for our Happiness on *judicial* Decisions. In
 short, let the Superintendency of a Parliament
 be once taken off, by securing a *devoted* Majority
there, and place the *well-matched* Cabal at the
 Helm, and not only the Nobleman in Question,
 but every Man of Property in the Nation, shall
 acknowledge, from bitter Experience, the *Possi-*
bility of our Properties being affected by a Change
 of Administration.

As to the Subject of our Author's Panegyric,
 being *neither Knave or Fool* — Were we not con-
 cerned in the Effects of his Qualities, he is in-
 trinsically too mean to detain us a Moment by
 the Discussion of them: But since he is sent us as
 a *temporary* Scourge for our Sins, I will take the
 Pains

Pains to say, that, as to the first, he shall be allowed this fair and *applicable* Trial; he shall stand or fall by the Test on which *Abraham* rests the Salvation of *SODOM*; if there be found one candid Heart in one hundred that will acquit him, the charitable Side shall prevail, and, for the Sake of that one, the World will acquit him also.

As to his being a Fool. — Besides that Share of Folly which always accompanies the former Part of his Character, I fancy his political Measures will never much redound to the Honour of his Wisdom, take the Argument which Way you will, either from the *Means*, or the *Event*.

His Advocate next proceeds (in *P. 27.*) to enumerate a pretty round Catalogue of *slighter* Articles exhibited against his Client by the Public; slighter, indeed, they are, tho' they would make a Figure any where else. But I shall not fatigue myself with following him through all the Articles of his Expurgation. The Display of the Inside of the House in particular makes me sick. Nor shall I refute the Defence made for the Neglect of his Diocese; if he would but abstain from his *Commissions*, we would readily pardon his *Omissions*; there are many Precedents for the latter, but very few for the former; not above two or three upon our Records. Nor shall I now be so needlessly severe on the rest of our mitred Peers as to say, that their *unnatural* Situation in the Legislature has been the Cause of more Commotions, than any other one Defect in our Constitution. What avails it to murmur? (as our Author justly insinuates.) Is it not better to wait, in silent Patience,

for

for that happy *Æra*, which our good Creator has certainly fixed for our Delivery from Enchantment and Infatuation ?

As to his Associates and Diversions, his Council here does not seem to plead against the *Facts*, but demurs to the *Crime*; and, according to Custom, puts us a Set of Questions, at the End of the 30th Page, almost every one of which may be answered to the Prejudice of the Accused. The last Article of the Charge is, I confess, with me no Crime at all; I have been so miserably pestered with black Gowns at Levees, that I would heartily join in their Extirpation.

Pages 32, and 33, contain some admirable abstracted Observations, ornamented with a Quotation from the venerable *Æschylus*, and an unanswerable one from the polite *Tacitus*. Much may be said, however, on the Word *Præceps*.

But we are now arrived, my Lord, at the only material Question in the Book; *Is he the Friend of our Country, and well affected to our Interest?* Our Author makes short Work of the Proof of the Affirmative, and that in so satisfactory a Manner, that every Reader must, after the Perusal, rest convinced, that *he* has no Attachment, can have none, *elsewhere*; that his Income must suffer sooner, and more sorely, by any additional Grievances that may affect this Nation, than the perpetual, landed Interests; that he is, by no means, a *Creature*, but great and independent *ab initio*, and, consequently, no fit Tool, or Instrument, for an *Occasion*; that were the Nation to suffer Shipwreck, no Care *could*, or *would*, be taken

taken to preserve his Revenue and Grandeur; that his Cares and Schemes are, by no means, confined to his own Life, but that, with a pious Solicitude, he looks forward, and consults the Happiness of After-Ages; that his Inclinations and Connections are such as must necessarily induce him to promote Peace and Harmony among us, as he is, at this Instant, doing; that *no possible Change can happen in which he could be greater, or even so great as he is*, as plainly appears by his not being in that State of miserable Restlessness, which must torment a Man, of his laudable Ambition, if he had a Superior in Friends, Interest, or Deserts; in short, there can be no Doubt but every honest and intelligent Reader, from these Arguments, and a Retrospection on his Conduct, Schemes, and Associates, must resolve to conspire his best Wishes in Favour of this Person who is so closely interested in the Fate of US ALL; who, as our spiritual Father, must be supposed to bless and pray for the People of his Predecessor St. Patrick, and who has so many Motives to stand our Friend, superior to them which actuate the other Person, whom we have, for several Years, so ridiculously doated on and admired.

But I should ask Pardon, my Lord, for growing ludicrous. The Subject does not, indeed, permit it, tho' the Author's Arguments do. It is true, no better could be had; but it was quite Fool-hardy to produce them.

Upon the Whole, my Lord, you have heard his Defence, and whether the Author is a bad Advocate, or his Patron innocent and faultless, you, and

and every other Person in the World, will, indeed, most palpably perceive.

I beg your Lordship to observe what noble Productions result from a muddy, undistinguishing, Understanding, agitated by a Virulence of Heart; how a stupid Vehemence hurries a Writer into Arguments, Expressions, and Discoveries, that expose to Ridicule and Abhorrence those very Characters in whose Behalf his Passion prompted him to take the Pen. This Book would certainly never have appeared, had he consulted any commonly-rational Friend, or even any of the Heroes of his Tale, before he committed it to the Press; I own, were I in their Situation, I would confine this reverend *Furioso*, and debar him the Use of Ink and Paper, until the Purposes of the Party were effected; then, indeed, he may be let loose, for tho' he would spoil any Cause he espoused, while Matters were in Suspence, yet, when the Nation was once *secured*, he would do admirably well to insult and worry; then Calumny, Scurrility, and Insolence, would have unlimited Indulgence, and who would presume to answer or resent? But, as Matters now stand, this mad Ecclesiastic must do infinite Mischief; and, I believe, they perceive this so far already, that we shall not find the Public insulted by any more Productions of the same Hand.

But I shall say no more on this Head; every honest Mind must conceive an adequate Odium against this Performance of our Author, and I would not be thought to carry even the justest Resentment too far. Tho' he has failed with the
Public,

Public, yet his Friends may, probably, forgive him for the Sake of his Intention; he will be allowed some Merit as the first, tho' unsuccessful, Writer for the Party, and God may forgive him, and *Aaron* reward him.

Again, my Lord, I must ask Forgiveness for digressing; you know it is my Way, even on Paper. I was led into it by the Incoherency and Obscurity of this Writer's Ideas, of which a fresh Instance presented itself in the next Paragraph; I mean that in which he attempts to convey a true Notion of Patriotism. The Beginning of his Observation, on this Head, is not Sense. Yet his Meaning, on the whole, is plainly this, that real Patriotism consists more in complying sometimes with the Demands of our Governors, than in a rigid Perseverance to the exact Liberties of the People; the Tendency of this is pretty easily seen. Then, says he, " We should sometimes *humour* " them in their *Demands*, tho' they should fall " short of, or go beyond, what, in Strictness, " we may have a *Right* to expect." And though, in one or two Places, he hits on a just Thought, yet this is apparently his Aim. Every one knows the first Step taken for the Introduction of every Vice, is to ridicule the Inflexibility and rigid Scrupulousness of Virtue.

This political Maxim will never, I believe, stand the Test either of Experience or Reason; As to the first, History will evince, that the *Magistrate* never desired to be *humoured* but with a bad Design, and was never indulged in it without dismal Consequences; and as to Reason, that, I

believe, will never be satisfied that the People should ever abridge their *Rights* by the Size of a Grain of Sand to *humour* any Person who is employed, and intrusted, *for no other Purpose*, but the exact and nice Preservation of even the smallest of these very Rights. Tho' this *Indulgence* should never go farther than a certain Limit, yet it is *so far* a *Wrong*, and the Assertion of its Propriety as much a *Falsbood*, as if it were to be ever so extensive; it is not, therefore, by any Means, to be received among a free People, even in the most restrained Sense.— But what End can be put to this Argument? May it not be used to purloin from us every Liberty, every Blessing, we enjoy, by insensible Degrees; if the Desires of the Governor are to be the *Modus* of the People's Compliance, what an unbounded Field shall we have for *Civility*!

Here, my Lord, are *Manwaring*, *Montague*, and *Sibthorp* again for us; these are the identical Doctrines that were propagated through *England* to pay Homage to the infernal *Laud* at the Expence of the Nation's Peace and Welfare. *Respect*, *Compliance*, and *dutiful Acquiescence*, are Dresses worn above these hundred Years by *Fear*, *Servility*, and *Dispiritedness*, three Gentry who are always in waiting to conduct us to the Temple of *spiritual* and *civil Slavery*. But we have profited little by our Annals, if we commit our Happiness to the Care of any political *Undertakers* either in Black or Red.

Thanks be to God, we are blessed with a Sovereign, who, thro' the whole Course of his Reign,

Reign, has rather shewn a paternal Willingness to humour his People, than the least Inclination to do any Thing that would require an *Indulgence* from them, whatever his Servants may do. He does, he must, affectionately love *us*; for we have shewn, to a Demonstration, that we love *him*, and his Nature is too generous not to be grateful. He, therefore, can never be displeased that we should deny such *Favours* to a Deputy, as *he* could not bring himself to ask, nor even desire. Let our *Adversaries* pretend what they may, our Loyalty to HIM will never be questioned by our Steadiness in refusing. Our Monarch glories in ruling a FREE People, and *we*, as Part of that People, cannot yield a Particle of our Privileges, without derogating by so much from *his* Dignity.

Having effectually persuaded us, that it is our Duty, as good Patriots, to be very good, and complying, and civil, and complaisant, to our Superiors, he inforces it by assuring us it will be *safer*, as well as more *reputable*, to do so; here is a little *Coax*, and a little *Threat*, for us, and, to treat us like compleat Children, he tells us, that if we will be good Boys, *this once*, and not make a *Noise* to disturb *Business*, we shall have full Liberty of speaking, and acting, our Fill any *other Time*; the Interest of our Country (he tells us) is not *now* at Stake; let us sit down secure until *they tell us* it is, and then — we may exert our Zeal — like a new-catched Bird in a Cage.

But, my Lord, my Eye is caught by a very alluring Paragraph, at the End of the 37th Page, to which I must, therefore, hasten; for it is, in-

deed, a *Coup de Grace*. He introduces it, by putting a Question (which really occurs to every Man in the Kingdom) into the Mouth of a *bot-headed 'Squire*, and then censuring it as a Specimen of the *Unpoliteness* of the Party. This Gentleman, whose Politeness and Humanity are so strongly display'd in every Line of his Performance, is so nice, as to be terribly offended at the Coarseness of this Expression. But, I believe, some will be brought to think with me, that this Interrogatory is put in the strongest Terms that Conciseness will admit of, and that in the two Words, *Parson* and *Dragoon*, is implied the whole Force of that Argument which Thousands of honest Hearts are, at this Moment, replete with; in this Sense are they to be taken, and not as indecent or scurrilous Appellations. *Parson* and *Dragoon* are useful, proper, and unblameable, acting in their Spheres, at a Visitation, or Review; but to assume the Direction of a Kingdom, abounding with their Superiors in Family, Fortune, and real Consequence, can never be reconciled to common Reason, and common Spirit; to remind them of their *proper Occupations* becomes then the only Method of pointing out the Impropriety of their insolent Ambition.

But this was to be passed over by the Author; his Intent was sufficiently answered, if an Odium could any Way be thrown on the *'Squires*, a Set of Men very obnoxious to him and his Patrons, and a formidable Obstruction to their Measures. You see he allows, in this Place, that, by *such*,
the

the *Opposition* is conducted; for which Truth we thank him, and glory in the Concession.

But we must speak of these *our Governors* in fair Words and civil Language; nay, however they may remind us of their original and proper Callings by their Conduct, yet Memory and Reason must be stifled, and, act as they may, they must be respected; one, as *his Majesty's Minister*, (he gives no other Reason) and the other for his *Birth, Fortune, and Qualities*; besides, he read Logic in *our University*; an eternal Honour to that Seat of Learning; for this Logic he now displays in his *energetic Orations* for the Good of this Kingdom, which (our Author says) he, upon all Occasions, endeavours his utmost to promote. In short, he *has promoted several of our Countrymen to high Stations*, and now humbly begs Leave to have universal Power, in order to continue his Benevolence to the *Irish Nation*, and serve them in the Lump, whom, before, he could only serve by Individuals.

But the best is to come. — “Why not,” says our Author, “why should we not be governed “ by a Parson and a Dragoon, if the King pleases “ to delegate to them his Power?” — Why really, good Sir, I believe they take Care already to be properly respected, and obeyed, in those several Provinces to which the King has appointed them; nor have I heard any Murmurs against the *public Authority* with which one of them is honoured; so far, I allow, your Question extremely pertinent, and when the King *can bring himself* to indulge the earnest Desire which the other has
for

for the like Dignity, we shall, I doubt not, *universally* respect him *as such*; even tho' there should be another displaced to make Room for him, who, we may imagine, has the best, and almost an indelible, Right to it. It is possible, indeed, we may be some what uneasy at the Exchange, (much more so, I promise you, than himself, excepting his Concern for the Public :) we should think too, perhaps, that our Nation may suffer *some* Decay in such Hands. — But, I am persuaded, the leading Men of the Country would wait for a *direct* Attempt on our Laws, before they would testify the least Want of Respect to those to whom *the King would think fit to delegate his Power*.

But what is all this to the Purpose? Does it follow, because they bear the King's Appointments, as to particular Exertions of Authority, that therefore every Thing they propose must meet with implicit Veneration and Obedience? Must every Man, howsoever great and respected in his Country, truckle to two Bashaws, whose *Commissions* authorize them only to bluster at the Head of a Regiment, and swagger in a Consistory? Must every national Scheme be regulated by their *Fiat*, and even the Legislature prostituted to their Pleasure? Or, rather, do they not, in the highest Degree, insult their Sovereign, who has exalted them, by using his Delegation as a Sanction for such Purposes, as, did he fully know their Nature and Tendency, his own honest Heart must abhor.

But, in the next Breath, our Author produces another Paradox; “*The Military*,” says he,
“ and

*“ and Ecclesiastical deserve Attention as much as
 “ any other Part of our Establishment, and such as
 “ are supposed to understand them best are undoubtedly
 “ fittest to preside in them ;”* [his Inference is obviously this, tho' not expressed] *Ergo*, they are the fittest to preside over the whole Nation. The first Part of this Argument I shall leave to the Reader's Contemplation, with this Hint, that if the Military and Ecclesiastical now deserve *Attention, as much as any other Part* of our Constitution, we may be assured that, in a little Time, they will be the *only* Parts to be considered, if the *others* do not take proper Care of themselves. — But I wonder my Author should have forgot his Syllogisms ; they could have helped him to put this Argument into a prettier Method ; as thus ;

Men are compounded of a Soul and Body,

Now, the Parson preserves the first, and the Dragoon the second ;

Ergo, the Parson and Dragoon have the whole Man under their Preservation. And then, from this Conclusion, by an undeniable Enthymeme, he might have inferred, that the Parson and Dragoon are the fittest Men in the World to preside at the Helm, and govern all the Rest of Mankind.

“ But hold,” says he, “ pray not so fast, *Parsons and Dragoons are to the full as fit for Ministers of State, as Graziers or Fox-hunters, especially if suitable Parts and Education have recommended them to that Distinction. It cannot surely be a Question which is fittest for the Post, be that was bred at Court, and early formed in the best*
 “ School

“ *School of Politicks and good Manners, where the*
 “ *various Dispositions and Tempers of Men are only*
 “ *to be learned, and how to be applied, and*
 “ *managed, to the Advantage of the Publick; or be*
 “ *that has been trained among Dogs and Horses,*
 “ *Bullocks and Sheep, where a Man is likelier to*
 “ *lose the little Good that Nature had put into him,*
 “ *than to improve it, and can learn little more than*
 “ *how to make his Neighbour first drunk, and then*
 “ *bite him in a Bargain; and if he ever emerges and*
 “ *steps into higher Life, is sure to bring with him*
 “ *that Awkwardness and Bluntness, which, though*
 “ *passing among the Vulgar for Marks of Honesty,*
 “ *are in that State of no other Use than to make him*
 “ *ridiculous.*”

This is one of the many Places where our
 Author's Passion has blinded his Caution, and for
 which, I dare say, he has borne a Bang from his
 Masters; they never commissioned him to retail
 to the Public what was said, in Confidence and
 Warmth, at their Tables and other Meetings.
 It is also one of these Passages which puzzled me,
 as to his real Intention, before I became more
 minutely acquainted with his Manner.

I shall do no more, after having thus recited it
verbatim, than leave it, as the genuine Sense of
 the Cabal against this Kingdom's Peace, to the
 Consideration of every Gentleman of Fortune
 therein, and of every other Person who esteems
 our landed Interest, and has even an ordinary
 Share of Penetration, which will be sufficient
 clearly to point out to him the innumerable Mis-
 eries which a Party, actuated by such Sentiments,
 must

must, in Consequence of Success, inevitably, and irretrievably, bring upon our Nation. We must, indeed, be in our Understandings, (as we shall certainly, and deserve to be, in wretched Servitude) lower than the most abject of the Brutes he has levelled us with, if we do not take the *Hint*, and repel these Invaders of our Happiness with a Spirit suitable to our own Importance, and their Demerits.

Tho' this last Passage carries a general Appearance, it is easily seen, that a View is particularly had, thro' the whole, toward him who is the beloved, and well-tried, Head of that Set of Men, against whom this Piece of Scurrility is levelled; and he, whose true Dignity, and unaffected Ease in his public Character, and unsullied Integrity in every Path of Life, his keenest Enemies have long confessed, is here represented, by a mercenary Scribler, as an awkward Clown, scarce a Degree above a Brute, and *getting drunk with his Neighbour in Order to bite him in a Bargain.*

His noble Correspondent, being curious in vegetable Nature, is next presented, by our Author, with a Simile, that made me laugh heartily when I first perused this Book; and, tho' thus ridiculous, it carries black Virulence and Gall in every Word. This Malignity, couched under a dispassionate Appearance, inclined me much, for a Time, to ascribe the whole Performance to the reverend Mountebank I pointed at in the Beginning of my Letter. You know the Man, my Lord, and his Kind of *Wit*; you will not, therefore, I fancy, esteem this Allusion below his Dignity; if you should, you have but to picture

to yourself the Shrug, the grotesque Look, the Turn of Voice, and all them other Recommendations of his Humour, which I have seen you stare at, while others laughed; picture these to your Fancy, and you will find the Thought full worthy of him. I think you may see in it the Spite that naturally arises from Detection and Disgrace. I may be mistaken, but I shrewdly suspect him. This Passage is extremely *like*, and the whole Book displays Judgment enough to be his. You know how much of the latter appeared, whenever he ventured to digress from the Province that characterised him.

Had the Author of this Metaphor considered his youthful Hero merely as a *Vegetable*, (and as such only can any Excellence be found, or, indeed, any Character be given of him) we might have allowed the Justice of it; but it can never be applied to him as a *Man*. I will, therefore, beg Leave to help him to a Kind of Rhapsody in its Stead, every Image whereof will be universally allowed to be taken from Nature, and is full as poetical as his own.

“ *Behold*, and admire, the Appearance of that
 “ flourishing Tree, which hath risen to the most
 “ noble Maturity, and stands, as it long hath
 “ stood, the Glory of the Forest! whose salutary
 “ Influence hath nourished and refreshed the am-
 “ bient Soil! under whose delightful Umbrage
 “ all is verdant, all is healthful; which hath
 “ protected the thriving tender Herbage from
 “ the *envious eastern* Blast, tho’ attacked, thro’ a
 “ Course of Years, by all the united Force of
 “ the Elements from without, and by the Per-
 “ fidy

" fidy of those Insects from within, sprung into
 " Existence under the genial Warmth of its
 " Shade, and, when raised from their *Aurelia*
 " State, turned their ungrateful, tho' feeble,
 " Efforts on the Leaves that gave them Being;
 " behold it still flourishing in a green old Age!
 " its Honours fresh upon its tow'ring Head! its
 " vigorous Root confirmed by all the Attempts
 " to shake it, while its luxuriant Branches are
 " the sure unfailing Protection of all that vegetate
 " around!"

" See now the Contrast. — Behold in its Neigh-
 " bourhood yon starveling Twig! a wretched
 " Off-shoot from a rotten Trunk! unendowed by
 " Nature with *Stamina* capable of Maturity, and
 " inclined to wither before it blooms! Behold!
 " all starved and blasted that falls under its
 " noxious, tho' confined, Influence! while Ca-
 " terpillars, driven from the other's Shade,
 " hang in Clusters on its bending Head, and
 " prey upon its Vitals!"

He next proceeds to inform us of what the Pub-
 lic Ear has long been pestered with, the well-
 judged Compliments paid by several Boroughs to
 the distinguished Merit of their Patrons and Friends;
 we are, indeed, quite sick of this Din; our News-
 Papers are gorged and surfeited with Puffs and
 Repetitions. And, indeed, considering the Num-
 bers, the Capacities, and Principles of these
 complimenting Corporations, it is no Wonder
 their Friends and Patrons should be so prodigiously
 elated; surely such Unanimity of Applause must
 be the sweetest Music to these honest Ears, and

can be deemed no less than the *Vox Populi*, the universal Cry in their Favour!

But pray, my Lord, observe the Repetition of that old last Shift of the losing Side, which our Author has, more than once, endeavoured to play upon us; I mean, the representing the Party he hates as irretrievably plunged in the Torrent of adverse Fortune, and inculcating the *Prudence* of not striving against the Stream. This must be, to every Reader, a Specimen of this Author's great Abilities, and, in Conjunction with the dispiriting Sarcasms in the same Paragraph, and that elegant Morfel of ancient and modern History annexed, cannot fail to strike the Gentleman they are aimed at, and his Friends, with the deepest Despair; perhaps to such a Degree, as to induce him not to wait for the threatened *Tumble*, but voluntarily to resign his Place to the illustrious *third Person* who leans on the *first Person*.—How powerful is Learning in enforcing political Measures! How irresistible are Quotations for perswading Men out of *common Sense*!

The *growing Hopes* of this admirable *third Person* are, doubtless, a strong Temptation to assist him in his Design; For tho' *there is no undertaking positively for another, nor can any one promise how he may carry himself when he has climbed the last Step of the political Ladder*, yet even his present *promising Appearances* are full sufficient to make us quit, in his Behalf, a Man, of whose unexceptionable Conduct there are, indeed, no *growing Hopes*, for they have long since been lost and sunk—in Conviction. Besides He really has some of the true
old

old Milesian Blood in him, an irrefragable Objection against him in the Breast of every *Irish-man*. Nay, were he fit, in every other Instance, to remain in his *old Place*, yet two Defects there are in him which must, for ever, render him odious and contemptible; one is, his Name, which is so shockingly disagreeable in its Sound, that it has always been a Bar against Honour, Trust, and Preferment, to those who have been possessed of the same unhappy Circumstance. The other is, his Accent, which is so excessive *drauling*, and *provincial*, that it absolutely makes him unqualified to *speak* for a Body of Men, to every Individual of whom he is so prodigiously inferior in this Particular. If these Reasons are not thought sufficient for excluding him, the Reader may see many more, full as just and weighty, in the same Page (42.) nicely delineated, and beautified, with another Quotation at Bottom, very applicable, and entirely new.

The *other*, says our Author, has no Faults of this Nature; *him* we see *just as he is*; and as such, indeed, he is a most desirable Creature for the Place he aims at; he is *Aaron's golden Calf*, and to be placed, by *him*, on high, for the infatuated *Israelites* to adore.

I am now arrived, my Lord, at the long-wished-for End of this Pamphlet, and a tedious Journey have I had; very like travelling through a dirty, rough, narrow, perplexed Road. On the whole, you see, how *free* and *candid* his *Inquiry* is, into what Kind of Matters the *Inquiry* is, for the most Part, made, and how extremely necessary for the Interests

Interests of his Party it is, that this *Inquiry* should be perused, at this Time, by our *Representatives in Parliament, and their several Electors*. It will not, however, be without its Use, tho' contrary to his Intentions; for, as I have before observed his Violence makes him blab out the true Sentiments, Characters, and Schemes of his Masters. I own, he is so abominably stupid in many Places, that I am not without Apprehensions of being laughed at for being at the Pains of animadverting on them. For that Reason, as your Lordship will observe, I have passed over many Things, that occurred to me, in Silence, and have seldom indulged myself in censuring the mere Author, when the Party, he speaks for, are not concerned.

Gracious Heaven! what a Crisis are we now at! what a Height of Insolence and Presumption must a Party have arrived at, when Wretches, like this Author, are encouraged to vend Treason against the public Good! How should every Man of the Community exert himself in his particular Sphere, down from the Legillator to the Mechanic who votes for a Magistrate! The Cause is the Cause of Honesty, of Virtue, of Liberty, of Loyalty; our Sovereign is our invariable Friend, our Enemies are his, and he will joy to find us steady and resolute in preserving the Interest he has long loved, and on which the Happiness of the Nation absolutely depends.

My last Letter from *London* assures me, that the Design of the Union is determined to be set on Foot here next Session; it makes much Noise there,

there, it seems, and is condemned with Abhorrence by every Person but those who expect their private Emoluments from it. His G——, and his Son, are preparing to come over, and, I am told from *Dublin*, that the P—— is so elevated at their Approach, as to have disgusted, and lost, some of his nearest Friends by his Insolence within these few Months; a good Prognostic! so will a *forced, unnatural*, Interest for ever moulder before the *true, the natural*, and the *lasting* one; Men cannot be detached from the latter but by base Means, and on such a rotten Basis can no substantial Structure be raised.

The Event, my Lord, in a few Months will verify this, and we shall see our Administration shake off its present distorting Biass, and revert, like a well-tempered Bow, to its natural Rectitude; while the Schemes of our Enemies shall sink beneath the Weight of that *national Interest* which they seem to hold in Derision.

21 7 49
I am, my LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

And obedient humble Servant.

F I N I S.

10.7.119
Just published.

- I. **A**N ANSWER to a late Pamphlet intitl'd,
"A Free and Candid Inquiry, &c. ad-
dressed to the Representatives of this Kingdom."
-

Just imported from LONDON,

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of Gentlemen, for the Entertainment of their
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- VI. A VINDICATION of the R—t H——e and
H——e L—ds and Gentlemen, who have been
basely aspersed, and scandalously mis-represented,
in a late anonymous Work, intitl'd, *The History*
of *ROGER*. By a Lover of Truth.

A SECOND

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LETTER

TO

A Person of Distinction in Town,

FROM

A GENTLEMAN in the Country.

CONTAINING,

Among other Things, some REMARKS on a
late PAMPHLET, entitled, *Political Pastime*;
or, *Faction display'd*.

A Fool quite angry is quite innocent.

POPE.



DUBLIN:

Printed in the Year MDCCLIII.

A SECOND

LETTER

A Person of Distinction in Town

FROM

A GENTLEMAN in the Country.

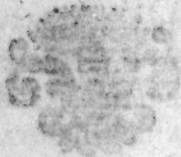
TO THE EDITOR OF THE

Among other Things REMARKS on a

the PARLIAMENT

of the Year 1790

Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.



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[4]

A SECOND
LETTER
TO

A Person of Distinction in Town,
FROM
A GENTLEMAN in the Country.

My LORD,

RETIRED as I am from the Bustle of the World, and destitute of every Ambition, but that of fulfilling the End of my Existence in the happy, though contracted, Sphere allotted me; yet must I avow myself not a little pleased at the Account your Lordship was so obliging as to give me of the favourable Reception which my last, and only, Attempt in Print was honoured with by the Public. It was written, indeed, in much Hurry and Inattention, amidst a Variety of very interesting Avocations; nor could any Thing have tempted me to permit it to the Press, but a Consciousness that every Sentiment was the Produce of a good Intention, unbiass'd by Prejudice, and uninfluenced by Favours; from which naturally resulted a Hope, that an Appearance of the same Sincerity might so far strike the Imagination of a candid and good-natured Reader, as to incline him to overlook the Inaccuracies which probably must have ensued from the Circumstances wherein it was penn'd.

Howsoever enormous the Steps of Authority, and violent and insidious the Measures, exerted toward the Destruction of this Country; yet even these would hardly have been sufficiently powerful to excite my Vanity to take the Quill against them; and had there been no other Motive, I should have left until this Hour unattempted a Task as hazardous as it was new. For to what Purpose? The national Interest stood self-secured; its own alluring Excellence had attracted many honourable Profelytes, and where THAT could fail of Success, no Man of common Modesty could hope for better Fortune, even from the most elaborate Productions of Reason, or the strongest and most lively Representations of Ridicule and Humour; I mean, among the Persons engaged in Affairs: For an ordinary Knowledge of the World shews us, that *their* Division becomes instantly decisive, when the Cause of Virtue displays itself in all its Charms; none can resist her Power but the worst of Men, and they lie as irretrievably bound in the Chains of Corruption, blinded by her dazzling Glitter to their own real and eternal Interests, and deaf to every Call of BENEVOLENCE and PUBLIC GOOD.

In this Situation, my Lord, where intrinsic Principles had determined the Choice among the Actors of the Scene, little could avail the Labours of the most consummate Genius, much less my weak Attempts; and where unprejudiced and unconcerned Persons were to judge, the Conduct of our Enemies spoke sufficiently for itself, and wanted no Comment to display its Pravity: Nay, even through the Mists of Ignorance or uninform'd Capacity, the Extravagance of their Proceedings forced its Passage, and excited all that Abhorrence and Indignation which every Lover of his Country could desire. All hitherto was carried on by the only Means
the

the Nature of their Schemes would permit; and if the Cause could boast of any Thing, it was a Taciturnity that look'd like some Degree of Reverence to Truth, and an Unwillingness to abuse its sacred Rules by perverting them into a Palliation of their iniquitous and unjust Designs.

But to curse the Party, and expose their Deformity, some malevolent Being whisper'd in the Ear of one of their unlucky Followers, and bid him write. This poor Gentleman had unfortunately dabled in Books, where having found a Variety of Encomiums on the Force and Charms of Reason, and that a Portion of that Faculty entered the Definition of Man, he took a Fancy to exert *his* intellectual Abilities, to reconcile us to the Merits of his Cause and throw a factitious Beauty on its Features by Dint of Intimacy with the Ancients. To which adventurous Project was added another much more feasible, and, to him, of much more Importance, to wit, the very probable View of being preferr'd for his Intrepidity in thus leading the Way to a Scheme of Defence, which even the most flattering Hopes of his Patrons had never before suggested to them. Resolving thus to avail himself of his good *Education*, he gets ready his *Cicero*, *Tacitus*, and *Sophocles*, brushes the Dust off his *Æschylus*, and sits down determined to persuade us, that we *ought* and must give up the Care of our Felicity out of the Hands of our proper, national, and only Guardians, to the Discretion of a Set of Men, by Interest and Principle, not only unconnected with our Fortunes, but also invariably bent on our Destruction.

With this Design, and those Materials, he falls to Work; History and Mythology are ransack'd, and his *Theme* is, in the collegiate Mode, garnish'd with Instances and Examples. To disguise its *Rummishness*, *Shakeſpear*, being spoken of

of as a Book of *Taste*, was, at all Events, introduced, with every old-fashioned Joke that Memory could supply. From all which noble Ingredients, shaken together, out comes the *Candid Inquiry*, introducing the P——e, in very uncommon Painting, to the Acquaintance and Esteem of our *Representatives in Parliament, and their several Electors*, bespattering all his Opposers, threatening us with his invincible Superiority, and closing all with — A hearty Wish for an Accommodation.

Wretched as this laboured Performance was, abounding with flagrant Inconsistencies, disgusting Scurrility, and Arguments and Discoveries, the most destructive of the System he took so much Pains to recommend; yet there are so many of the Community, who, by various Circumstances, are rendered incapable of judging but by public Accounts, and too indolent to bestow even that small Share of Attention that is necessary to detect the Imperfections of so bad a Cause as our Author's, that to leave his Assertions unexposed, and his Glossings, tho' so superficial, untouched, might have been the Foundation of many pernicious Mistakes and Prejudices. Such a Work, and such an Antagonist, I flattered myself I was equal to; and, prompted by this, I was induced to spare a few Hours from a Scene of Hurry, and commit to Paper some of those Sentiments, which must, on such an Occasion, arise in every honest and spirited Mind, where a People was thus repetitively insulted by so bad a Defence of so bad a Cause.

If one may be allowed to judge of the Merits of an Essay of this Kind from the Effect of it on its Adversary, I should draw an Inference in Favour of my little Performance that might swell my Vanity too high; for it has incensed my Friend the *Inquirer* to a prodigious Pitch. This was
really

really more than I intended, nor am I quite easy in my Mind, about the ugly Consequences, which the apparent corroding Violence of his Constitution gives me no small Reason to apprehend. His Rage and Indignation are without Limit, and the Endeavours he has used to conceal them will, I fear, make their internal Operation still more dangerous. Every Person who adventures to meddle where Party is concern'd, must, indeed, lay his Account for meeting many severe and satyrical Reflections, as some Degree of Acrimony is but too inseparable from a Difference of Sentiments in Matters of Importance; but I do not recollect to have read any one in this Way, who seems to be so thoroughly carry'd out of himself by Vehemence of Passion, as the Gentleman I have had the Fortune to clash with.

A second Edition of his Pamphlet *was set on Foot*, and at the Head of it appeared an Advertisement, assuring the Public, there was nothing to the Purpose in all that had been written in Answer to him; for that not one of them had, in any Sort, induced him to retract his Sentiments; informing them, that the Characters of his Heroes had brighten'd up prodigiously in *his Eye*, by Means of the Dirt that had been thrown upon them by these mercenary Scriblers; and promising the World that they should have a Reply to the *Letter*, as soon as he had dispatch'd some private Affairs; after which he declared he would lay himself out for scolding, and abuse it heartily. Notwithstanding this Puff, I confess to your Lordship, I thought I should have heard no more of him, but I was mistaken; for, at that very Instant, the cruel Man had his second Performance on the Anvil, and professed himself otherwise employ'd, only the better to preserve it in *Petto* for the Arrival of the Lord Lieutenant; his Grace was to be presented with it in Form, and the Name
of

of DORSET, the *Mæcenæ* on Record of every brilliant Genius, was, of all others, the fittest to appear in the Front of our Author's ingenious Composition. This would, at the same Time, answer, in the most desirable Manner, the prime Motive of his Labours, give a Sanction to his Performance, and effectually intimidate even the most daring from presuming to oppose it.

Here first, my Lord, I repented of my sitting down to confute his *Inquiry*; nay, I could not but accuse myself of some Degree of Stupidity, in not foreseeing this Event. How natural was it, reflected I, to expect that a poor Man like this, palpably actuated only by a Prospect of some Preferment, and who does not care a Penny, exclusive of that, if both his own and the other Party were at old *Nick*, that such a one would be so far from being chagrined at a Confutation, that it was the most delicious Incident he could wish for; his first Attempt might have been forgot, and the Merit which he built upon it, had he not met an Opportunity of repeating it; and we find every Day how the most unmeaning Sound will force itself into Notice by Perseverance, and leaving a jingling *Memento* in the Ear. Was it not, in Proportion to my small Powers, pursuing the ridiculous ill-judged Plan of 1710, thus to contribute toward the Importance of this second *Sacheverel*, as like him in his Doctrines, as in his Genius and Effrontery? He had no Character, as an Author, to risk by a second Attempt; and I was infatuated not to foresee, that he would not cease to write, while Adulation could please, and Scurrility meet with Favour.

It seems, my Lord, this is one of that Class of Mortals, whom there is no discouraging; an old incorrigible profess'd Party-Writer. It is to this, his happy Talent, that this Kingdom is indebted for his Presence at this Day. *For your Intention-Sake,*

Sake, says his involuntary Patron on the other Side of the Water, *I will do something for you, But — Sir —* WRITE NO MORE; so on that Condition he was recommended and provided for here.

On receiving his *Political Pastime*, or *Faction display'd*, I confess my Curiosity was not a little raised; I knew my old Friend by his Motto, notwithstanding the humorous Addition of *Lover of Liberty, and Friend to his Country*; and as all Ridicule of this Nature rises in Proportion to the Inequality between the Subject-Matter and the Powers of the Discussor, so I could not but promise myself a good deal of Amusement from the Pamphlet before me, the Title of it giving me great Reason to expect, that some late, important, political Occurrences might constitute the Topic of his Dissertation. But he was more wisely employ'd, and was directing his Talents in a Manner more adequate to their Vigour, and more immediately to the Purpose of their Possessor.

My vainly anxious and inquiring Eye was first saluted, or rather dazzled, with a DEDICATION! This, thought I, confirms my Hopes; he has invoked our Tutelar Deity; and, by such a magnificent Exordium, some solemn Rite must ensue. The unhappy *Memorial* is to be the Sacrifice; no other Victim so proper or acceptable: The *Bully-Letters* shall supply the most grateful Incense, and our prostrate Priest shall, with all his usual Charms of Inspiration, call down Vengeance on this rebellious People, and — steal a Sigh for some little moderate Prebend for himself. Big with this Expectation, I hastened to cut the Leaves; when lo! instead of my Lord K——e, I found — myself! instead of an Attempt to confute that unpardonable Proceeding with a Shew of Reason, History, and the Nature of our Constitution, covered with a decent Solemnity, that might

render it more seemingly fit to be laid at the Feet of its mighty Patron, our chief Governor was presented with a second Edition of my little Pamphlet; labouring, indeed, under some Disadvantages of being mutilated, mis-recited, and misrepresented; but happy in any Guise to be honoured with his Grace's Eye.

Before I could well attend to any other Circumstance, I found myself under a Necessity of indulging a Fit of Mirth at a Mistake I found my Author's Zeal had led him into; it had made him blind enough to attribute my Production to a Gentleman, whose Abilities have been long distinguish'd, and have rendered him particularly useful in contributing to the Defence of his Country. The Truths contained in it had Hurt, and Resentment immediately pointed toward him, from whose extraordinary Powers, the Party had so often experienced Detection and Contempt, and against whom their Malice is proportionably implacable. I confess, I laughed a good deal at the Buffets and Abuse given to the poor innocent Baronet, who is now in the important Scene of Action, much better employ'd than I am, in answering the *Candid Inquirer* — How charitable, and how sagacious are the Workings of such a Spirit! — Sure that Gentleman has Reason to say with *Pope*,

——— *And can I chuse but smile,
When ev'ry Blockhead knows me by my Stile?*

You desire, my Lord, I will say as much as this Pamphlet of his will afford Matter for, and I will endeavour to obey you, though, I protest, it is a very disagreeable Task: It is, indeed, an admirable Sequel to the *Candid Inquiry*: The Stile is long and flimsy, and as for the Ideas — *apparent raræ nantes* — One starts up here and there,

there, and floats; looks, at a Distance, like *something*, until you attempt to touch it; then sinks, and leaves you in a wide Expanse of Words. This, my Lord, is an endless Fatigue; a clear and meaning Stile, and close connected Arguments, such as result from good Sense and an honest Cause, afford, indeed, some Room for Animadversion, and take off from the Unpleasingness of Writing: But what is to be done with an irregular, furious, vapouring, poor Creature, like this? I believe even you, my Lord, would be at a Loss to know.

Without further Ceremony, however, I will begin to do what I can; but I must first declare, and I hope you will forgive me, that you shall never catch me again at encountering any Writer of this Stamp: If I must ever dabble in Ink, I will do myself the Justice to chuse an Adversary, who may afford me some Pleasure in the Contest, and a Possibility of Honour in a Victory. This will secure me from the disagreeable Necessity I am now brought into, of banging Insensibility, and throwing Contempt on the highest Self-Satisfaction.

To do Honour first to his Dedication, which is, indeed, extraordinary in every Article, I must beg Leave to recommend to your Lordship's Contemplation, two very curious Anecdotes, and which, I believe, you will allow to be entirely new in their Kind. After abusing the *Memorial* and *Memorialist*, and giving a Detail of the Progress of *Faction*, he informs us, in the Height of his Glory, that he had the Honour of transmitting to his Grace, to *England*, his last Performance, the CANDID INQUIRY; and soon after bursts into the alluring Confession, the most commendatory Boast, that he is, and long hath been, beatify'd in an intimate Acquaintance with our Metropolis. Did not this make you stare, my Lord?

Are you not ashamed to place me against such an Antagonist? — Sure never was any Man, more particularly a Party-Writer, so totally destitute of common Caution! The Weight of Impartiality is eminently requisite in Treatises of that Nature, as the Topics are of such great and universal Concern; but here is a Gentleman, who, not content with implicitly displaying himself in every Line, must, in plain Terms, avow himself in the closest Connection with one of the Principals of the Party, the Hero of his Tale, and brag, with the greatest Pomp, that he writ for the Perusal of him, who is (at least seemingly) the Head and Life of those Designs, which, in that very Performance, he attempted to vindicate! This too, after repeated Declarations therein, that every Sentiment took its Rise from no other Motive on Earth, but an Impulse in Favour of injured Innocence, and an Ambition to promote the public Good! The unhappy *Inquiry*! Had thy Ruin wanted any Thing to compleat it, this would have done it to Perfection. Such Testimonies of Impartiality and Veracity! And from a Man's own Mouth too, an old and experienced Author!

Leaving the few Hints in this Dedication, that relate to some important Matters, to be enlarged on in another Place, and permitting our Author the full Enjoyment of the many modest Encomiums on himself therein also contain'd, proceed we now to the Essay itself; on which before I enter, I must beg your Lordship not to be too severe in your Opinion, but let your Good-nature take into Consideration, that it was written merely and solely as a Basis of the prefixed Address; it is, indeed, pretty plain, that, had Custom authorized it, the whole Bulk of the Pamphlet would have been a DEDICATION; so that, having a View to his Intent, you must throw a forgiving Eye on the subsequent Part of the Performance.

The

The Plan of his Proceedings he judiciously draws from his Fund of Satyrical Humour. The Reason of this Choice, he informs his Grace, was founded on the immortal *Ridiculum acri*, by which lucky Quotation, he ingeniously steals out of the distressing Necessity of entering into the Merits of his Cause. Truth is, indeed, too formidable a Foe for the most powerful Abilities in open fair Attack, and an empty Jibe could be the only Refuge of an Adversary like this; a Kind of Skirmish, which, though incapable of hurting, yet always leaves an Open for Retreat. Besides, I fancy the *Success* of the *Inquiry* had given him some little Dislike to a Shew of Argument. But, whatever was his Motive, Severity of Humour was his Plan, and to work he goes. The first Victims were two or three Pamphlets, extorted by the ridiculous Insolence of his *Inquiry*; much more deserving Attention than mine, and therefore, I suppose, he passed them over, after some Strokes collected from the *Battle of the Books*, and leaving the full Force to their Confutation. Mine he introduces in all the Pomp that Extravagance and Incoherency could supply, and, like an experienced Connoisseur, places it, as the principal Figure of the Piece, in the most glaring Point of Light, the better to illustrate all its Complication of *Falshoods* and *Villanies*.

Being an Enemy of the first Degree, my Punishment was to be suited to my Crimes; a new Instrument of Torture was devised to distinguish me by Ignominy and Pain, and strike a Terror among all my *facetious* Associates. The Contrivance, my Lord, was this, and, indeed, but for a trifling Mistake of the Artificer, it would have been a grievous one. Having heard, or read, that no Master-piece in Writing is so excellent, as that which retorts the Arguments of an Antagonist, and makes them subservient to
his

his own Destruction, he determines to proceed upon this Model; but happening in his Hurry to take *Repetition* for *Retorting*, he puts several Scraps, pick'd off from different Paragraphs of my Pamphlet, into the Mouth of a third Person, supposed to be of the same Sentiments with himself, and that, without ever dreaming to annex one Circumstance to throw a Ridicule. This is a Species of Irony, of which, I believe, my Author will be allow'd the sole Honour of the Invention.

But, because even a Repetition could not always be so dextrously introduced, the *easy* and *ingenious* Expedient with Readiness suggested itself to our Author, of changing my Words into others, which would fall into the Sphere of his Burlesque, and, at the same Time, by being put in *Italic* Characters, may be mistaken for mine by the Generality of Readers, who are too little interested, to be at the Trouble of a Comparison. This Stratagem was also play'd with great Success. *Dolus an Virtus*, an old Maxim with his Party, occur'd to him, and he found himself qualify'd for its Execution. The many Instances of this, I shall not, at present, set about to enumerate, but leave them to the Contemplation of such as think it worth their while to recur to my former *Letter* for Conviction, and congratulate my Author on the Sentiments that will be excited in his Favour, in Consequence of such a Review, and a Reflection on his many obvious Misrepresentations; one or two of which I will beg Leave to mention, not to vindicate my Meaning, but to help your Lordship to a full Idea of this Gentleman's Abilities, and Candour.

In Pages 9. and 10. of my Letter, I had pointed at the Want of Interestedness in the Concerns of Society, which must necessarily subsist where an Indifference to the Welfare of Posterity prevails;

prevails; and, to confirm this Sentiment, I produced the Sanction of Antiquity in the Encouragement given to Marriages, and the View in which the Eunuchs were considered in those Ages by the most politic and the most beneficent Princes. This was all that was there *expressed*; but I also confess that an Inference, too indelicate for plain Terms, was there intended, and, I think, pretty apparently, against such as aspire to the Direction of a whole People, and, consequently, to the greatest Influence on the Welfare of them and their Posterity for ever; yet not only negatively demonstrate an Aversion to the Source of all the endearing Relations, but also improve that selfish, unfociable, Temperament, by an Indulgence of Passions, in their very Nature, inconsistent with the Happiness of Society, and even private Life, much more with a tender Care for the Felicity of Millions. In this Light I characterised them with the Eunuchs, as actuated by the same political Principles, though from a different Cause. And, in this Light, I apply'd that Quotation, so remarkably applicable to *both*, and so extremely pertinent to our present Situation. The Purport of it was, that being unconnected with the present and future Race of Mankind, and solely intent on their own Elevation, they endeavoured its Accomplishment by the basest Measures; *By so effectually besetting their Prince, and suffering Nothing, to reach his Ear, unconsonant with their own Misrepresentations, that the Intercourse, on which his and his People's Happiness essentially depend, was entirely shut up, and preventing him, by their wicked Assiduity, from that Knowledge of the Grievances of his loving Subjects, which would have led him to immediate Redress, and have covered their Spoilers with Confusion.* — Unhappy Prince! Unhappy People! — How happy they whose Constitution enables them at once to alarm their
Sovereign's

Sovereign's Caution, and disperse every dangerous Combination against their Repose!

These, my Lord, were my Sentiments; and what do you think is the natural, necessary, and easy Consequence of them, according to our ingenious *Inquirer*? What, indeed, no one could have hit on, but himself, to wit, that *ergo, every Batchelor must be an Enemy, by Principle, to the public Good.* — Is this a Mistake do you think, or only a voluntary one? Is it likely that he, whose Head (from what Reason, I know not) seems, on all Occasions, so possessed with his Patron's *Foible*, that he has emblazon'd it more conspicuously than ever, and immortalized it as far as his Works can go? Is it likely that he should thus, on a sudden, forget its Notoriety, and imagine that Celibacy only was pointed at in the last recited Paragraph? Or will you think with me, my Lord, that he was sharper than he would own, and chose to pick out one Circumstance to play upon, the *better* to turn into Ridicule a Collection of Likenesses, more applicable than he desired?

My Way of Reasoning from private to public *Virtue*, will hardly, I believe, be controverted; as Reason and Experience clearly evince its Propriety, and Writers of the first Class have vouchsafed to adopt it. The particular Point before us will bear, I think, the clearest Deduction. An ordinary Insight into human Nature demonstrates, that the Faculties of the Soul undergo a Kind of mechanical Effect from the Force of Habit, and wear, like a Stream, by constant running, a peculiar Channel for themselves to flow in: These will ever be more extensive or contracted, in Proportion to the Care that is taken of the Direction of the *Current*; and the deeper they are sunk, the more difficult to enlarge them. Much more may be said on this. The very Existence of Society depends on properly diffusing these Affections,

Affections, and hindering them, by a constant Exertion, from tending to their much-loved Center, *Self*. Hence every Art and Science, and every polish'd Institution. This their Basis, and this alone their Use. Hence all the Force and Beauty of *Epic* and *Tragic* Fiction, where even unreal Objects improve our Nature, by keeping alive the social Passions, and preserving their Vigour until a real Emergency demands their Aid. On this too, even our Author must allow (unless his Divinity is as low as his Politics) rests all the Reason of the divine Interdictions against such of our Appetites, as incline us, in their Gratification, to a selfish Disposition, and contract our Regards into so confined a Circle, as to exclude every Care and every Wish not immediately subservient to the darling Passion.

The opposite Turn of Mind is never so effectually promoted as by a Multiplicity of tender Connexions. The Soul, divided into Fondness, and bending all its Cares on a Variety of endearing Objects, comes at last almost to forget *itself*, and gains increasing Strength in generous and godlike Sentiments. Marriage, for this Reason, as the Fountain of *all the Charities*, and in itself the Scene of every tender Passion, becomes a Duty, where *real* Hurt or Inconvenience does not plead the Excuse. But to wave a Tenet, that may look, perhaps, too singular, this, at least, must be admitted, that little Latitude of Concern for the distant and extensive Interests of Society can rationally be hoped for, where an Indifference for its Perpetuation is supported and increased by a Gratification of Pursuits, founded on the most contemptible Ideas of human Nature, which derogate from its Rank in Creation, and render our Species too vile, even in the Eye of the Perpetrators, to deserve one fond Regard, or one tender Consideration.

Many are, and have been, doubtless, blessed in Celibacy with as great or greater Sociality of Nature, than may often be found among the Married; too vague and indeterminate is the Structure of Man to reduce into absolute unexceptionable Maxims; and none but this Author of mine could think of so childish a Construction of the Sentiments I had express'd. But where no Symptoms of such general Benevolence have ever been display'd; where, at the same Time, there are no Pledges that may force, as it were, a Man's Nature, and extort from it some Degree of Care for Society; where every Passion divides, and every connecting Principle (even that of Interest) is wanting, what People that did not lie immediately under the Rod of divine Vengeance, and were not struck with Blindness and Infatuation, ever entrusted a Man, or Men, so circumstanced with a Command, nay, with any Influence, over the Felicity of themselves and their Posterity? This, my Lord, I am so far from thinking a mere Point of Speculation, that I look on it as one of the greatest and most certain Truths we know.

I hope my Author will think me orthodox in my Opinion, and quite consonant with *St. Paul*, though a little more explicit than the Apostle; who, I believe, could he have foreseen our present Days, would have left a whole Epistle for the Benefit of his Successors: And, I fancy, as it is, that some of his Doctrines and those of his blessed Master, were they ever read and considered with due Reverence and Attention, would come so home to some Bosoms, as to make them tremble amidst the Pomp of Power, the Flatteries of Sycophants, and the Allurements of Ambition.

But I don't know — I may be uncharitable — It runs strongly in my Head that they have got *St. Paul* on their Side; *They* are his Expositors, and we can no more understand him without their Assistance,

Assistance, than an Act of Parliament without a Lawyer. — Who knows the Interpretation of EVERY MAN HATH HIS PROPER GIFT, or what a Latitude of Dispensation it may afford? Our Author gives it to us in reverential Capitals, as if it was the Motto of some *Society*. — I can't tell; he knows best. — He tells himself, in another Place, that he is *very arch*.

We are here presented, my Lord, with two or three Instances of that Figure in Oratory, which I have before mention'd; I do not recollect any technical Appellation for it, and the vulgar Epithet is too coarse to be used but by our Author: It consists in sometimes quoting Expressions which were never used by our Adversary, and sometimes in placing his Expressions in such a Manner as to convey Ideas, which they never could convey in their original Situation, and passing them, under these Circumstances, on the Public as *his*. It is a very ingenious Figure, and has this peculiar Advantage, that it reflects in the same Instant the greatest Lustre on the Goodness of the Cause, and the Honesty and Abilities of the Writer. Several Places of his Pamphlet abound with it in both its Branches; here you have it chiefly in the latter. The Words *Omissions* and *Commissions*, no very extraordinary ones I should think, and hardly worth repeating, which I had happen'd to use in speaking to your Lordship about his Patron's Neglect of his Diocese, are here introduced in distinguish'd Characters as *mine*; and, by Virtue of these two innocent Words, I am made to say, that the necessary Consequence of Celibacy is an Addiction to the most abominable Vices. This, my Lord, is that Figure by which, it has been observed, Treason may be extracted from an Act of Parliament, and Blasphemy from the Gospel; and is, indeed, a Method of refuting that it is impossible to withstand.

I hope I need not assure your Lordship that my Nature is offended in being obliged thus to dwell, even in a cover'd Manner, on a personal Reflection, and that, of so black and detestable a Dye. It is true, that when a Man forfeits all Pretension to the Regard of the Community he lives in, by ambitious Views against their Happiness, and a Display of Insolence, Want of Truth and Honour, and Ingratitude to the Welfare of that Country, whence he derives that Pomp and Riches which have raised him from Obscurity; a Casuist will argue, that he has also forfeited all Title to the Tenderness of that People, and that Humanity, which, in a common Case, teaches us to suppress the Imperfections of our Species; nay, that when the *Fault* carries all the Strength of Evidence its Nature will permit, and is, in itself, of such a Tendency, as to extinguish every extensive generous Principle, and, consequently, repugnant to the very Spirit of Government (under which, besides, its contagious Influence may be foster'd to the most dangerous Maturity) that then it is not only excusable, but even right, *so far* to exhibit it to the Attention of the Society, as to point out the Perils that must ensue, from their permitting Success to attend the aspiring Proprietor. That, until he withdraws his Designs, and takes Shelter from the Imputation in the private Circle, he must expect to have his Faults made as conspicuous as he would make himself, and to be exempted from Tenderness and Forbearance, while he continues to exempt himself from the Duties of his Station. All this, I say, a Casuist may urge, and, for aught I know, with Justice: But it is hard for one to break through Habit and Prejudices of common Life, nor will Judgment be always strong enough to carry us through these violent Efforts, where a Softness of Nature controuls the Flight. This I must confess

confess myself disadvantaged by, and therefore, not all the Pains my Author has taken in this Part of his Book and elsewhere, not all the repeated Overtures he has made to promulge his Patron's Shame, can prevail on me to be the Prosecutor. What, does he expect me to go into a Detail of Places, Facts, and Names? To produce universal Suspicion, and argue on the great Improbability of its being entirely groundless? To freshen up old Narratives, and exhibit a public Charge already made by an *Associate*? And to illustrate the whole with Probabilities of the highest Nature, drawn from Intimates, Opportunities, and foreign Conversation? No, my Lord, some other's Task be this. What I have said in Allusion to it, has been extorted by this his Advocate, to whom, indeed, he is often prodigiously indebted for *its* Promulgation. Happy for *him* that his Work must die!

Vexed at the Manner in which, in the 30th Page of my *Letter*, I had treated some general Observations of his, spun out with a most soporific Dulness, in the 32d and 33d Pages of his *Inquiry*, and resolving to have them regarded with some Degree of Attention, he *most* naturally puts them into the Mouth of his imaginary third Person, and, after repeating them, enters into a Paraphrase upon their Merits. I assure him, I did not affect a Contempt for these his Abstractions, but that I passed them over, from a sincere real Belief, that, however just and refined they may be in themselves, there was no Kind of Necessity for my swelling my Pamphlet by an Animadversion on them, and, that as I was satisfied, so he would be pleased with my leaving them to stand in their full Force and Virtue. However, as he insists on it, I will indulge him, in a few Words, upon these his darling Sentiments, so freighted with irresistible Argument.

The

The Purport of them is, *that as Characters are generally so unequally rated, and so unjustly handled, common Reputation can never be a safe Standard for Judgment.* In illustrating which Proposition, he resolves, at the same Time, to overset the Test, on which I had offered, in my 29th Page, to rest the Vindication of his Patron, from the Odium of a Knave; I mean my Appeal to the Suffrages of all, who may reasonably be supposed to be candid in their Declarations. This performed, he harangues by Way of Corollary, to give Instances and Reasons, why the *Multitude* have been generally wrong in their Prejudices, and honours *Socrates, Scipio, and Aristides* by a Parallel. He does not pretend to controvert the *Fact* of the Majority of black Beans, nor even the Disproportion I had stated, which, I think, was an hundred to one against his unfortunate Hero: This is rather more than a Person would chuse, I should imagine, but, to accommodate him, he shall have a thousand to select a *Friend* from. The Defence, however, consists in this, that, be the Majority ever so great, it is not to be allowed as a Foundation for Opinion; which he shews by his two *Postulata*, according to that Mode of Reasoning (I have almost forgot my *Logic*) which convinces, by shewing the bad Consequences of the contrary Tenet.

In order to treat him with that Respect, which, I find, he expects, and which he so highly deserves, and, at the same Time, to be as brief as possible for my own Ease, I shall beg Leave to present him with a Couple of *Postulata* of a more serious Turn, to be placed in Apposition to his, which will, I believe, remain uncontroverted, and, at the same Time, afford me all I desire on this Subject.

POSTULATA.

P O S T U L A T A

Postulatum imum. That universal Concurrence [i. e. *the Voice of the People*, which, by his first *Post.* he gives up] in Matters which cannot fall immediately under our own Knowledge or Inspection, must be deemed a full and sufficient Ground for absolute Belief, until we have found out the Method of acquiring Omnipresence and Omniscience.

2dum. That [supposing the Concurrence not so strong as in our Subject, but only] the *Majority* of the World against a Man's Integrity must, *at least*, raise such a Doubt in every rational Mind, as to ground, in the justest and wisest Manner, a determined Resolution of excluding *that Man* from all Share in a public Administration, where such Want of Integrity must necessarily be followed by the Perdition of that Society. And, so far, such *Testimony* is to be allow'd as a competent and invariable Rule of Action.

These, I hope, will be thought quite agreeable to the Sentiment which gave Rise to this Controversy, though I have neither ascribed *divine Authority* or *Infallibility* to the Voice of the Public, as my Adversary, according to the before-mentioned Rules of his polemical Proceedings, has been graciously pleased to represent. *These* are, indeed, beyond the Reach of human Evidence, and out of the Limits of Mortality, unless they are Attributes of our Writer's *Deity*.

One *Postulatum* I had forgot, and a material one to me it is; for, had I not laid hold on it, I should have left my Author in Possession of his principal Instrument of Attack: By the Help of the Reverse, indeed, he would overthrow all I have been doing, as he has every other Argument, and every Fact. I shall, therefore, insist on it,
that

that a Man, in the above-mentioned unhappy Predicament of Character, can never be washed white in the Eye of the World, by all the Pains and Asseverations of one, who, apparently by his Writings, and avowedly by his own Confession, is his Creature and Dependent. If all, or any of these, my Postulata, are deny'd, I will undertake to erect a System of Scepticism and Confusion, the End of which no human Sagacity can foresee.

But indeed, my Lord, I am growing ashamed of insisting on such Trash. To reason with a conceited Child, and ridicule it out of its forward and empty Pretensions to Independency of Judgment, and Force of Argument, is a Task of much the same Nature, full as agreeable, and full as effectual: Something that may suggest more pleasing Matter must be found, something of more Consequence than our Author, or his Patron, who have personally already engrossed too much of my Leisure and my Letter.

Shall I venture to say any Thing of the MEMORIAL? or will your Lordship think my private Sentiments too insignificant, perhaps too vain, on so important, and much-canvassed, a Subject? What may be the Case in your Part of the World, I know not; but, where I converse, Ignorance, inflamed by Party, so powerfully obtains, that I have hardly met with an Opinion on this Occurrence, which, to me, appear'd rational and just. Where the Advantages of Education afforded a Power of judging, they were generally so perverted by Prejudice and Passion, that, instead of pointing out the Truth, they only supply'd additional Matter for its Disguise, and pester'd us with a verbose Jargon, ornamented with the Sounds of *History, Precedent, Duty, Loyalty*, and *the Nature of our Constitution*; just such as tinkle in the few Lines which our Author has bestowed on this Head, who, doubtless, pick'd them

them up from some of this Class I have mentioned, tho' I would refer *him*, I think, with more Justice, to another which fills the Bulk of our Politicians here, I mean the *Dogmatists*, Persons incapable of *Choice* in their Sentiments; who, after a competent adjusting of their Wigs, and Eye-Brows, have often, in my Hearing, with great Solemnity declared, that, in *their Opinions*, it would absolutely bear an IMPEACHMENT.

For this Reason, my Lord, my System of Thought, upon this Subject, is new, at least, to myself; I will therefore beg Leave to deliver it you, hoping, with some Assurance, that it may meet your Approbation, and perhaps, if you think fit to publish this Letter, affect the Opinions of some of my Readers, whose Want of Opportunities, or Attention, may incline them to the Reception of mis-represented Facts, and premature ill-grounded Judgments. This I do not presume on from any other Motive, than a Consciousness of an unbiassed, calm Disquisition of this Subject, whose Difficulty and whose Demerits consist entirely in its Uncommonness, and its Importance.

I believe, my Lord, you must have observed it, that, of all Truths, the simplest and easiest of Conception are those on which the Happiness of Man most essentially depends. Such are the Fundamentals of Religion and Politics, which are, in themselves, within the Reach of every Capacity, that is able to comprehend the Terms they are expressed in; nay, they must, indeed, present of themselves to every commonly-informed Mind, that will make them in the least the Subjects of its Contemplation. What then disturbs the Peace of Society, and excites the many destructive Comotions which infest it, when, from a Similarity of Structure, we are all adapted to the Reception of these important Principles, which are, in their

own Nature the strongest Ties of Union, and most powerful Promoters of Harmony? Why Passion, that perpetual, and too mighty Enemy of Reason. The very Importance of those Truths induces many to contest them. The vain Singularity of some has made it necessary to demonstrate the Being of a God, and the Interest of others has set the ablest Heads at Work to shew, that one human Creature has not a Right, at Pleasure, to dispose of the Lives and Happiness of Millions. No Proposition is so incapable of Proof as the self-evident, yet on such will Altercations and Divisions continue, until the Heart shall cease to influence the Head.

On one or more of these great Truths do the Merits of the MEMORIAL depend; and, indeed, the Assertion of its *Rectitude* constitutes, in itself, a most useful and important Maxim to Society. To deduce which Proof, will, I think, be easy from the following Considerations; in which, if I should err, it is without Design, and neither Fact or Reasoning shall undergo a voluntary Palliation. The first Part of its Character I will speak to, shall be that which is censured by our Author in his 7th Page, under the ironical Epithets of *dutiful* and *loyal*. I know he would be angry if I lost Sight of him, and I shall therefore keep him in my Eye; though, I suppose, he will excuse my including, under these Heads, all that he has said on this Subject in his Dedication, where he must be forgiven for losing his Meaning in the *Fulsome* and *Bombast*. The Measures lately formed and assiduously prosecuted against the Repose of this Nation, your Lordship, and, indeed, almost every Person, knows, to have been in its Source, and every Article of its Progress, *a private one*. The Result of a Cabal of Subjects, resolved to avail themselves of their Power, Possessions, and *Influence*, by fixing an extensive and dangerous Dominion over

over the People of this Island. A Design formed by a Junto on the *other Side*, grounded on a contracted illiberal Idea of the Genius and Abilities of the Subjects of their Ambition, and to be executed *here* by a few who were qualified with that precipitate Rashness which was so necessary to the Attempt, and alone could inspire them with any the least Prospect of Success. The Consequences of this Scheme are as terrible to Reflection, as the Prospect of them is unbounded to the View. Many Individuals promised themselves mighty Emoluments from it; Pomp and Affluence were to crown some *here*, and the Fruits of thriving Industry and Management were to be transmitted to supply the Deficiencies of Mal-Administration. The whole Plan was therefore, in every Instance, most destructive to us, and also as pernicious to our elder Sister *Britain*, as it was unconnected with, and unsupported by its public and national Policy.

The Sanction and Authority thrown upon their Measures by their Success in gaining an Ascendancy over the royal Representative, and blinding his good Disposition formerly display'd for our Welfare, supply'd, at the same Time, the most effectual Occasions of promoting their Popularity. The King's and Kingdom's long tried Friends, restrained by Interest and Principle from countenancing them, and placed by both above the Shocks and the Temptations of Power, were, by every possible Means, to be treated with Contempt, and spoil'd of their Influence. The Recommendation to Appointments, apparently the just and unalterable Due of the Majority of the representative Body of the Nation, who pay and support these Appointments, and which had, for a Course of Years, with unequalled Marks of Honour, and all the Confidence arising from his distinguished Merit, been vested in their much-loved Leader,

was taken from him with every Mark of contemptuous Insolence, and lodged in Men, whose every Motive must induce them to use those Appointments only as Baits of Corruption: And, in general, the Steps that were taken, were exactly consonant to the Nature of the nefarious Design.

Notwithstanding all these Advantages, the first Trial of their Strength was unsuccessful, and the Nation was too strong. The Distributive Power, however, continuing, the sanguine Hopes of the Projectors flattered them with better Views, and the same indefatigable Measures were pursued. One grand, inviolable Precaution was, from the Beginning, observed to keep the true Knowledge of our Situation from the Ears of Him, whose good Disposition, and our Deserts, must incline him to the most instant and zealous Redress. But this was not *now* sufficient; the Opposition given *here* he must have learn'd, and its true Motives were therefore to be disguised by a Representation of false ones: The Injury done us in this Particular, amounts in Certainty almost to Demonstration; and as it was essentially necessary to prevent a total Abortion of their Schemes, so it gave Rise to, and forms the Merit of, the noble Attempt now under our Consideration.

The Subject they had chosen to try their Strength on, was such as contributed to reflect additional Dishonour on their Cause. An Embezler of the public Money was call'd to an Account, and supported, with all their Might, through the Course of a Trial, which, from its equitable Candour, and most satisfactory Minuteness, spread an universal Conviction of his Guilt, and the flagrant Injustice of his Supporters. Content, however, with shewing their Superiority, and chusing that the adequate Punishment of such a Fraud should come from another Hand,
of

of which they could have no Doubt after so solemn a Declaration of his Deserts as the *Resolutions* of a NATION, they remitted all further much-merited Disgrace; demonstrating the Warmth of their pacific Inclinations, and their total Purity from Party-Rage.

What then was the Consequence? Why, this Man, thus convicted in the most ample and most conspicuous Manner, before the highest Tribunal, of the most enormous Dishonesty, and Breach of Trust; of robbing a Nation, and distressing, nay, destroying many of the Forces kept for his Majesty's and the Kingdom's Service, was permitted to part with his Employment on such honourable and profitable Terms, as are only the Reward of Honour and Integrity; and this, palpably, not as a mere Indulgence, but an important Piece of Service, which, as they hoped, might exempt him from any further Trouble, or any Necessity of Restitution. Let common Sense now answer, what possible, assignable Cause for such an Incident, but a violent Perversion of Truth, and the falsest Representation to the Throne, of the Principles and Dispositions of this People? Could our Sovereign, the honestest of Men in his own Nature, and who saw the most solemn Decisions that could result from a national Inquiry, and the Heads of the Particulars which supported them, could HE bring himself to doubt of the Criminal's Guilt, or withstand the Impulse he must feel to vindicate a deserving, plundered, People, nay, to reward their Plunderer, unless these public Censures had been pictured by those, who, to *him*, had no apparent Interest in a Misrepresentation, as the undeserved and *occasional* Measures of a furious *Faction*? Can any Man otherwise account for the Voice of a Nation failing in its usual, and natural, Weight and Energy, without necessarily asserting the Falsity of an

Axiom

Axiom, which, by its great and immutable Truth, has long supported the Felicity of these Dominions, to wit, THAT OUR MOST EXCELLENT SOVEREIGN IS POSSESSED OF AS GREAT HONESTY OF INTENTION, AND TRUE DIGNITY OF SOUL, AS EVER DID HONOUR TO HUMAN NATURE?

But to cut off all Doubt of the Hardships we incurred in this Particular — Let Memory supply the recent Circumstance, so ill-boding to our Peace, and so punctually fulfilled; the too plain, though equivocal, Promise of Representation made in Answer to the *parting Address*. Preceding Declarations and correspondent Events carry to me, my Lord, all the possible Force of Conviction. What now was to be done? What End was to be assigned, or expected, to a Step of this Nature? What Remedy for the past, or what Prevention for the future, but to break through the *besieging* Junto, and lay before the royal Inspection, those important Truths, which the Parliament had forborne through Tenderness to HIS Representative, and a Hope that the Sallies of Ambition might meet a Check from the Demonstration they had given of their vastly superior Power?

This struck the Patriot Attention of that illustrious Person, who truly reflects Honour on Nobility; and his Intrepidity suggested the Resolution of awakening the Guardian Care of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, by becoming a personal Advocate for his People, pointing out their Grievances, and the Source, and opening again the Channel of Communication, whose *natural* Current had been obstructed, and on which the very Life and Being of public Happiness essentially depend. If it was without a *Precedent*, so was the Occasion that made it necessary. THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY was at once its Motive and its Justification; and we may judge from the Rage and
Violence

Violence it excited, how great and unexpected a Stroke it was to the Schemes of *the Association*.

Now, my Lord, I should be glad to know from our Author, or any Person else, what it is in this Affair that constitutes a Breach of *Duty* or *Loyalty*. Is it the making known to the tenderest and best of Parents the Complaints and Distresses of his affectionate Children? The opening his View on the iniquitous Schemes of his Servants, gaping for *their* Possessions, and eager to spoil them of their *Birth-Right*? But, perhaps, the Gentleman takes his Hint from the Letter *ascribed* to the Patron of his Dedication, where we are told that this Proceeding was an Attack upon *Government*: He, however, cannot plead the Excuse, that the Rage of the disconcerted Dictator of that *politic* Epistle is intitled to, which alone could suggest such an extravagant Prostitution of Phrase.

Thus far for the Merits of the MEMORIAL, as to its *Duty* and *Loyalty*: The *Correctness* and *Distinction*, which are also attempted in Ridicule by our elegant Author, are very uncertain Subjects of Criticism in the Editions of it that have come into this Part of the World, which are so vilely printed, that they are hardly legible. This, alone, makes me doubt whether the extant Copy is thought genuine, or only the Substance that has transpired: For, barring the Poverty and Incorrectness of the Impression, I have no other Reason to hesitate; so far from it, that I think it carries with it strongly the spirited Intention, the Honesty, and Truth of the MEMORIALIST. Truth needs no borrowed Ornament; and, in an Address to Majesty, a Superfluity of Words would have been the most absurd Impropriety.

The Memorial is thus presented: Well, and where are the dismal Consequences to this People, which our Author seems to intimate in his 8th Page? Is it not somewhat probable, that, were he

he ask'd, he could not even frame one, or indeed tell us a Word more about the Matter than he has there expressed? Permit me, therefore, my Lord, since I have presumed thus far, to be impertinent for a few Lines more, and supply his Deficiency by some Conjectures, which, I hope, will be thought neither strained or improbable.

The Portrait exhibited of us in Consequence of our Defence of our Country, was (according to the highest Rules of human Probability) such as must have infinitely astonish'd the royal Mind; so directly the Reverse of what our former constant Conduct, and the concurrent *Reports* of our Governors, had pictured. Our Features were, doubtless, overcharged with Deformity; more than was *likely*, more than was *natural*; for disappointed Zeal often overshoots, and where Defamation is founded only in Resentment, the Softenings of Humanity, which, in a *real Case*, may obtain, are entirely excluded. How far these Representations, though supported with such Authority, may have raised a Doubt in our Disfavour, or whether their Effect amounted only to a Suspicion of our Sovereign, that some *extraordinary* latent Cause had excited such an extraordinary Account of us, is hard to determine: But this, I think, his own Excellence, and our demonstrated Affection, leave us no Room to hesitate in asserting, that he must have felt a paternal Solitude and a tender Anxiety for our Vindication. How Heart-felt must be then his Joy at receiving it by our illustrious Messenger; honoured, as much as a single Hand could honour it, with all the Lustre of Character, Rank, and Property; and displaying, in one short View, all the true Sources of our *Disaffection*! Thus was the Purpose of the MEMORIAL answer'd; the only one that ever was, or could have been proposed, and this was a great one; Mis-infor-

mations

mations being confuted, and Mis-conceptions removed, new Vigour accrued to every Measure, and breathed fresh Spirit into every Breast. The Contest now became that of the King and People, against a few aspiring Subjects, whose Schemes were thus contemptibly exposed to *his* Eye, and, consequently, unnerved in the most essential Part. These were the *Consequences* of the Memorial, and of these *their* Consciousness has apparently been proved by their late intimidated Behaviour.

Why then (my Author, or some such other, may demand) was the Deputation continued, when it is so essential to the Promotion of these Schemes? The Answer, my Lord, I think is easy. No Dilemma should, or can, permit us to allow a Want of Care in the royal Mind for *our* Safety and Repose: This they *alone* are guilty of, who contend, in Favour of our Adversaries, against the System I have advanced, and there *alone* is the Breach of *Duty* and *Loyalty*: Still less allowable is such a Concession, when an ordinary Knowledge in *modern Administration* so easily points out the Clue. Extensive Influence, Alliances, and Possessions, make it highly inconvenient, if not dangerous, to thwart the Supporters of our Antagonists. This Necessity obliges HIM, who has always preferred the public Happiness to his own, to sacrifice even his private Ease by Indulgence to a *Set*, whose Conduct, as he has shewn on more Occasions than one, has rendered them obnoxious to him in the highest Degree. He saw the Weakness of the *Association* by the Event of their Attempts, and their Consciousness of it by their Mis-representations; so that, resting secure of our *national Strength*, he wisely and justly chose the lesser Evil, of putting *that* to a gentle Exertion, rather than the much greater that might ensue in a more important Sphere on a Refusal.

Is there any Thing in these Facts not notoriously true, or any Thing not most naturally connected in this Reasoning? Is it not, in the highest Degree, consistent both with his Glory, and his Affection, for us? Is it not exactly consonant with my Lord H——'s Letter? The Deputy was to be continued, and the *Memorial* must *therefore*, by all the Rules of common Sense and decent Regularity, *seem* inferior in Weight to the Authority of his Representations: And yet, even on the Face of that Letter, notwithstanding all the Colourings and Exaggerations of Phrase, appears an earnest Desire of having the Matter of the Memorial enforced in a Way, to which the Want of Form could not be objected, and which would sufficiently justify that Redress, which, for every Reason, our royal Master must be inclined to give. Let my Reader consider this Letter, and he will, I believe, find it not only agreeable with, but also confirmatory of, the System I have here advanced; let him reflect whether his Majesty *could* avoid a Declaration in Favour of his own Representative; whether every Thing said therein be not the necessary Consequence of that *necessary* Step of continuing the Delegation; and whether he sees any genuine Symptoms of that violent Displeasure, which his Servants have been pleased to ascribe to him, in their formidable and intimidating Comments on this Proceeding. I own, I think there is rather in it an apparent Tenderness of Expression, such as involuntarily slides in, when we are obliged, by Circumstances, to use a Form of Words foreign to our own warm Inclinations.

It is pretty observable, that the Declaration, in this last mentioned Letter, of the Justice that had been done our Nation, in the Representation of their affectionate Dispositions, is not only brought in, in a very awkward and laboured Manner, as if from a Consciousness of a *Necessity* of some such Assertion,

Assertion, but is also indirectly introduced without express *Authority*, join'd immediately in the same Paragraph, to a personal Observation of the Letter-Writer, and resting entirely on his single Testimony for its Truth.

The irremovable Impression made on his Majesty's Mind by *his Experience of his Servants Abilities and Fidelity, in the Discharge of the most important Trusts, and their Zeal for his Service*, supported by that inimitable *Greatness of Soul* which baffles all *Misrepresentation*, and has truly distinguished his Character through every Period of his glorious Life, is the Joy, the sure Refuge and Consolation of us his Subjects; and (unless we flatter our Merits) the Ground of all our Hope, the inspiriting Motive of our Conduct, and the Basis of all that Certainty of his Friendship and Favour, which, as, I hope, has been shewn, must necessarily result to our Contemplation, and animate us against more formidable Opposition than our present Adversaries will be ever able (with proper Caution on our Side) to make. We are, in the general, and have shewn ourselves so, most inviolably attached to his royal Succession and Interests: Our present Parliament have long gloried in promoting his Ease and Glory with the warmest Affection; and, when by the deepest and most dangerous Designs, the Accession of his illustrious Family was rendered, in the highest Measure, precarious; when to assert *its* Rights, or refuse calumniating *its* Dignity, was a more hateful Crime than *Treason*; then were the most hazardous Demonstrations, of the truest Zeal in its Behalf, nobly and repeatedly display'd, by that excellent, and IMMUTABLY-LOYAL Gentleman, who is at the Head of our national Association; at a Time, when many, very many, now distinguished by their Clamour in *Vindication of Government*, and most recommendatory Scur-

rility against HIM, were as distinguish'd by their Loudness and Assiduity in Favour of their *exiled Prince*; and the Majority of the Remainder are tainted with the same hereditary Principles, by the Prevalence of Blood, or the more incorrigible Venom of Education.

Pardon me, my Lord, for having detained you thus long on this Subject; it was hard to shake it off, and I endeavoured to be as concise as possible. I shall be much pleased, if these, my private Sentiments, should meet your Lordship's, and the Reader's, Approbation; as I pretend to no more than plain Reasoning on the Facts which have fallen in my Way, so I expect to be exempt from the Imputation of an assuming *Politician*: Though I must confess, the Obviousness of the Truths I have endeavoured to evince, gives me some Hope of the *Justice* of my Observations, however they may fail in their *Novelty*. Where I have used Analogy, it seems to me, in no Sort forced, nor is there any Supposition formed, but results, with the greatest Ease, from known Facts and the Nature of Things. The Method of Deduction I have gone into, no Person sure will be prejudiced against, who reflects, that no better can possibly be supplied, where *they* only are in the *Secret*, whose Interests essentially depend on its Concealment; and, that where Statesmen are concerned, as little Stress as possible is to be laid upon *Appearances*.

What has been said on this Subject, will, it is hoped, at least, be deemed a sufficient Answer to all that our poor Gentleman has endeavour'd at in his Dedication, and elsewhere, in regard to the Memorial, the Lord H——'s Letter, (which he quotes with much more Reverence than his Texts of Scripture) and the Affair of the renown'd *Gimcrack*; who, as he affirms in *Page 13*. he is *really* inform'd, has, *in Fact*, perform'd the

the Restitution decreed ; a fresh Instance of our Author's Modesty and Veracity ! Good God, what Readers does he expect to meet with ! — But, above all, the Notoriety of the Facts I have mentioned, I have Reason to hope, will, in some Sort, tend to silence this intrepid Advocate, and be entirely decisive of our Controversy. I could have branched into many illustrating Particulars, all tending to the same destructive End, among which the fatal Stroke so evidently made at our Linen Manufacture, and palliated in a Manner so inclusive of the most insolent Contempt for the Genius of this People, is not the least ; but I fear'd being too prolix for the proper Limits of a *Letter*. Enough has been said however, I believe, for that final Issue on which, in the 4th Side of his Dedication, with the most consummate and ridiculous Fool-hardiness, he rests the whole Merits of the Dispute.

Begging Forgiveness, and very penitential for my Digression from my Author, I return, resolved to stick more closely to him for the future, and comment on his many Excellencies. One occurs this Moment to my Eye wandering over his Leaves in Search of Matter, and is, in some Sort, connected with the foregoing Subject. It is a high Stroke of his Abilities in *retorting* : The Foundation, this : He had in his *Inquiry*, Page 35. asserted, that it was our Duty sometimes to *humour* our Governors, though their Demands may fall short, or go beyond, what, in Strictness, we may have a *Right* to expect : I took the Pains, in the 33d Page of my *Letter*, to say a few Words in Confutation of this wretched threadbare Pulpit-Introduction of Slavery, and particularly, that the *Magistrate* never desired to be *humour'd*, but with a bad Design : “ O,” says my Friend the *Inquirer*, in Page 38. “ have I caught “ you, Sir ? Now G——, our present Sove-
“ reign,

“ reign, has desired his Subjects here to concur
 “ in making the Government of his Deputy easy,
 “ *Ergo*, we are to rest assured, by *that* Rule,
 “ that he has some bad Design.” The Powers
 of Logic! Thus have I seen a weak ungainly
 Fellow give his Forehead a deep Wound with
 a Back-sword, in making a furious Stroke, which
 never reach’d his Adversary. I do not know
 whether I can make it clear to my Author, but
 almost every other Person will see, that, by all
 the Rules of common Sense, as well as Argu-
 mentation, he has fairly asserted, that this his
 Majesty’s Request is not exactly what we have a
Right to expect, and in which he must be *bu-*
mour’d, if he is comply’d with; for, by keeping
 an Eye to the Terms of the Sentiment which is
 the original Ground of the Argument, it is plain
 that, by his Rejoinder, he substitutes the King’s
 Desire as an Instance of the *Demands of a Gover-*
nor going beyond, or falling short of, what, in Strict-
ness, we have a Right to expect, and predicates this
 Sentiment of *that*; whereas I had spoken of the
Magistrate in general, and shew’d plainly, by the
 subsequent Context, that I did not, and could
 not, include our Sovereign in the Predicament,
 but his *Servants*, for *whose* Advantage the Doc-
 trine had been first broached: *He*, however, is
 pleased to apply it to his Majesty, and, whimsi-
 cally enough, dedicates it to him in whose Favour
that Request was made. But, perhaps, he is
 playing *Hippomenes* on us in this Place, as he tells
 us in *Page 6.* is his Custom. And this is only
 one of his *Golden Apples of Amusement*; a good
 lucky Thought that! a never failing Come-off
 from the Consequences of publish’d Nonsense!
 But, unhappily, none worse adapted to the Use
 of it than our Author: Facetiousness is but a
 poor Refuge for impotent Virulence, and ex-
 ploded Scurrility.

This

This happy Talent of his, my Lord, leads me to another Paragraph beginning in his 11th Page, fraught with very curious Sentiments, and set off with all the Advantages of Humour; such, indeed, as this Gentleman possesses in all the Purity that is to be found in that honourable Quarter of *London* from whence it derives its Appellation; which Truth, if any one contests, I refer them to the Perusal of all his literary Endeavours; or, as a convincing Specimen of the whole, to the Paragraph now before us. The Intent of it is to *prove* how absolutely necessary a Trip to foreign political Academies is to the Knowledge of the Interests, and a right Administration, of this Kingdom. From his Fund of *Learning* one would have expected a Plan of Antiquity to be recommended: But, to this, there were two great Objections; first, that such a Plan contains too much *Licentiousness* in its Nature for a Disposition so *rebellious* as *ours*; and, secondly, we are to remember, my Lord, that all his Patrons, our Reformers in Government, have been *Travellers*. Here, indeed, we see the manifold good Effects of this important Circumstance of Education; briefly these; a foreign *Gusto*; *French* and *Italian* Maxims of Dominion; a refined Contempt for our Country, unbiassed even though we eat the Bread of it; and an Abhorrence of its old fashioned Policy and Manners. Nay, my Lord, you see how these Advantages diffuse: Here is our Author now, who, by even being an humble Admirer, has caught the very *Spirit*, *Taste*, and *Stile*; *Ballinastoe*, *Mullingar*, and *Skibareen*. — Odious Sounds! full of nothing but Biting, *Laziness*, and the Vermin of *damn'd Irish Spalpeens*! Pretty *Eccho*! — Why, my Lord, the very Pickings of polite Conversation afford Matter for solid Argument and Confutation; and one has but to run the Changes on *Graziers*, *Faction*, *Claret*, *Squires*,

Squires, and *Tobacco*, to infuse a Resolution into a whole People of changing every experienced Measure, and plunging *Head and Ears* into the Torrent of *Reformation*.

The only Thing that sticks with me, my Lord, is, to know how we contrived before the Importation of these polish'd Foreigners; we were, doubtless, *Brutes*, *Animals*, and *Wretches*: But yet, my Lord, we lived, and we lived in Peace and Happiness, though so uncivilized and uninform'd; and it is problematical with me whether it would be wise or eligible to run the Hazards of Refinement. I fancy our Projectors must make the *grand Tour* again before their Schemes prove adequate to the Importance of their Designs; nay, I doubt whether any Thing under the *Ratio ultima* of *Paris*, will be effectual enough to convince the *stupid Perseverance* of our *Irish* Gentry, that *they are not only unfit for the Management of the Helm, or even to work the Ship, but are real and great Incumbrances to its Sailing* *, and that, in order to its being the better piloted to the desired *Port*, they should lend their utmost Endeavours to disengage it of such Lumber, by heaving themselves over-board.

If we can, therefore, be content to jog on in our old insipid Way, I cannot help thinking, that the same Degree of Happiness may be perpetuated by the same Means which have hitherto supported it, without attempting to adopt any foreign critical Intrigues or *Macbiavelian* Niceties in Policy; these are, I fear, as foreign to our national *Genius* and *Honesty*, as unnecessary, if not destructive, to the Preservation of our plain, well-ballanced, well-settled, System of Government, and the Support and Promotion of the thriving Situation of our Manufactures and Husbandry.

The

The Method more obvious to, and more within the Sphere of *our* Understandings, seems to me to consist, in keeping constantly in View that Branch of Trade, which, from the Circumstances of our Neighbours and ourselves, carries the greatest Proportion of common Benefit, and promises, therefore, the longest Duration, and the most extensive Employment of our Inhabitants; in promoting Industry and Improvement in every Shape, and by every possible Means, and preserving the strictest Regard to the Morals of the People, that Basis of every public and private Good; to live in the most affectionate Duty to our Sovereign, and Harmony with our *English* Brethren, in whose Protection we glory, and whose Interests are our own; and to watch, with the most unsleeping Eye, against every *private* hostile Confederacy (for *none other* can we fear) destructive of that Share of Liberty, which the common Advantage of both Nations allows us to possess, and which the Principles of the *English* Policy and the Dignity of the Crown, will never contribute to abridge, as being essentially necessary and dear to both.

It is, I think, as obvious, that no greater Skill in foreign *Management*, is requisite to the above Purposes, than obtains in that representative Body, which has conducted us for many Years, and under whose Influence and *Auspices*, the Kingdom has undergone an astonishing Reformation, more than any other in *Europe* can boast in that Space of Time. Men, who (as our Author justly, though unknowingly, remarks) are, by their Knowledge in the Products of our Soil, and the Connexions of our Commerce, best qualified for the Direction of those two important Branches of our Welfare; and, by their Property in that Soil, and its Commodities, must be so inseparably attached to the *Care* of that Direction, that no

human Power can disunite them from it. Men, who know enough of foreign Policies to despise them, and love and admire their own the more; Men possessed of that *Insolence of Understanding*, which our Author joins as essential to the landed Interest *, and which excites that noble, *haughty, and contemptuous Disdain* of the empty and ridiculous Thundering of Power, and the paltry Gliftenings of Corruption, put forth by the empty Hope of unexperienced Zealots to draw them from the self-evident Interests of their Country; Men, not cemented (as the same ingenious and worthy Gentleman affirms they are) by *Ignorance* and *implicit Veneration* of their Leader, but by a much stronger, BECAUSE AN HONESTER, Tye; an Union of the same great and common Concern. This, their Conduct, when labouring under every possible Disadvantage, evinces to Demonstration; and this is the highest Character that can be given any public CAUSE — An unparalleled Instance! reflecting unparalleled and immortal Honour on every Member of that Association, and the worthy Principal, whose well-proved Excellence spread Confidence, Spirit, and Unanimity through the Whole, and threw a Damp on every Measure of our Enemies!

Praise, my Lord, has acquired such a Disreputation from its Abuse, and the Paucity of real Objects, that, to attempt it, is as hazardous, as to restrain from it is sometimes most difficult and uneasy. Thus is the highest Merit often abridged of its Due, and an honest Mind debarr'd from the grateful Task of paying that Tribute, which universal Obligations exact from every Individual of the Community. The only Encouragement to break through this Timidity of Censure

* Political Pastime, Page 26.

sure is, where the Acknowledgments of the Virtue we admire, are as universal and uncontested, as its Influence is great and salutary. But here again we are distressed; for, though secure from Exaggeration, we incur Presumption in attempting a Portrait already drawn in inimitable, unfading, Colours in every Breast of the Society: This Reflection, the Gentleman last pointed at, suggested. By the Nature of my Subject I have once or twice been led into a Feature of his Character, but my Diffidence hinders me from attempting a compleat Delineation, and such an Attempt would gratify none but myself. I cannot, however, avoid to start to your Lordship's Recollection a Sketch of Painting by an eminent Hand, which you will think comes the nearest, of any Thing we have, to a Character you know. I mean Mr. Pope's Lines on Sir William Trumball. Every Person will be more ready to apply them than the Proprietor.

*A pleasing Form; a firm, yet cautious Mind;
Sincere, though prudent; constant, yet resign'd;
Honour unchang'd, a Principle profess'd,
Fix'd to one Side, but mod'rate to the rest;*

AN HONEST COURTIER, YET A PATRIOT TOO;
JUST TO HIS PRINCE, AND TO HIS COUNTRY
TRUE.

*Fill'd with the Sense of Age, the Fire of Youth,
A Scorn of Wrangling, yet a Zeal for Truth;
A gen'rous Faith, from Superstition free;
A Love to Peace, and Hate of Tyranny.*—

For the remaining two Lines — Long, very long, gracious God! may we want the grievous, dreadful, Necessity of their Application!

Among numberless Instances of our Author's striving to ingratiate himself by the lowest and

most ridiculous Falshoods that a Poverty of Soul, and mercenary Dependence, can inspire, pray, my Lord, did you observe the *Reflection* thrown on this Gentleman's Ancestor, so mortifying and confounding ! But it would have sufficiently answered his Purposes, one would think, had he adhered to the Truth : For (besides other *Errata*) the worthy old Nobleman has left it on Record, in his own Hand, that he had *Twenty-seven* good Pounds in his Pocket, and *three Shillings* into the Bargain ; and I think for so much we may take his Word. But however, my Lord, odd as this may appear to you, and me, and Thousands more, yet it is but common Justice to allow my Author to know the Humour of those he writes for ; and, I protest, I do not doubt but such a Writer may be so acceptable, where Iniquity and Weakness prevail together, that *Cabbins* and *Spalpeens* may be applauded as invincible Arguments in Favour of the *Union*, and his *Scotch Proverb*, a Demonstration of the P——'s being necessarily a Friend to this Country, while *Mattocks*, *Spades*, and *Plow-shares* undeniably evince their hated Opposer to be unworthy of private Esteem, and unqualified for public Administration ; the *Fattening for Lust*, and *getting his Mother's Maid with Child*, are irresistably arch and waggish, and the *Burden of the Cuckoo* is one of the best Jokes in the World.

But, my Lord, my Letter swells too much, and to descant on all his Littlenesses, of Sentiment, Principle, and Diction, would be synonymous with a Comment on every Line. The Character is no more than we see every Day, one of the Bulk of lower Party-Followers ; I could point out some Hundreds in my little Sphere, all equally qualified, but in Self-Sufficiency and Scraps of Antiquity, which has kept them from

recording

recording themselves in Print. I am quite ashamed of having said so much of him; it can benefit no one but his Printer.

The Public have, indeed, by all Accounts I have received, anticipated me the Trouble of remarking further on my Author; and, to their Contemplation and Decision, I heartily submit his many Assertions, or Insinuations rather, of political Facts, and the Strength of his political Reasoning. His *Caut* Repetition of *our* imitating the censured *Lucas*, the old Story of his Party, by which they endeavoured to pervert to our Reproach a real Act of Merit, and a convincing Proof of our Affection; to confound the dangerous, unprovoked, Sallies of a single Enthusiast, with the cool, regular, and *defensive* Conduct of a NATION against a violent, real Attack, on their Interests and Happiness! — His Story of the Bridge, taken out of the same Common-Place, another Instance of public Spirit and pacific Inclination, turned, by the same metamorphosing Faculty, into private Job and hostile Disposition — His repeated Attempts to picture us as setting up for entire *Independency*, drawn also from the before-mentioned inestimable Sources; and the other various Particulars of his valuable Performance; among the Rest, the *Cork* Election; to which however, for the Assistance of my Reader, I will beg Leave to say a few Words; some Circumstances of Opportunity enable me, and, as a private Subject, it may stand in Need of an Illustration.

Did we never hear of any Job in that Affair? Yes, indeed, we did. Every Person, who knows any Thing of the Affair, knows it to be all one labour'd Complication of *Job*; a Variety of the basest and lowest Measures taken in Behalf of the *Boatman*: Instead of his being invited by a Majority to stand, (as our Author, with his usual Modesty,

deſty, affirms) it is notorious that, to this Day, it is, and ever muſt be, a moot Point which Way the Superiority would have inclined, notwithstanding the indefatigable Pains, Expence, and Corruption, by which that Gentleman's Side was advantaged. The Conteſt, indeed, was an exact Reſemblance of the more important one above: The ſame Circumſtances in Miniature diſtinguiſh'd the Candidates, and the Means were correſpondent to their Merits and Pretenſions. The *Boatman's* Antagoniſt had all the *natural, juſt, and powerful* Advantages that could reſult from *Nativity, Connections, Family, Property in and about the Place contended for, hereditary Principles, and a Character of artleſs Honesty*, without either the *Means* or *Diſpoſition* for undue Influence. He, on the contrary, counterbalanced all, by availing himſelf of the wrong-headed Obſtinacy which diſtinguiſhes the illuſtrious Adminiſtration of that City: To oppoſe is all their Aim; and he was ſuffer'd to take the Lead by Virtue of a hearty Concurrence in their Sentiments, with the additional Recommendation of *Fox-hunting, Merry-making, and eleſtioneering Affability*.

That theſe are Facts, cannot be controverted; and the Reader will ſee them naturally ariſe from Reflection on the Nature of the Thing. As a trading City, great Room muſt be ſupply'd for Influence in the Revenue; as a Corporation engroſſed by the ſame Intereſt, Votes are profuſely beſtow'd on all who, from their never-flinching Conduct, or low Circumſtances, are thought devoted to *Direction*. Hence the *Boatman's* Party conſiſted in the Bulk of *Officers* in precarious Employments, Corporation-Servants, and Mechanics depending for their Bread on the Good-will of the principal Inhabitants. His Adverſary could
boast

boast only of Gentlemen, whose Situation and Principles placed them above Corruption or Fear, and made them resolute in excluding a Man so circumstanced, unentitled, unconnected, and so *supported*. Numberless vile Detections were made in the *little* Sphere, and some more important ones from a higher Source: Such, indeed, as constitute an Epitome of their general Measures, and proceed from their *Knowledge in the Dispositions and Tempers of Men*, and *Skill in properly applying to and managing them* *; [all which, in my Opinion, is but a Paraphrase on one plain Word] this our Author affirms to be the peculiar Happiness of his Patrons, arising from their courtly Education, and too refined a Stroke of Policy for the Abilities of Country Gentlemen. He, I doubt not, could help us to some Instances of this Kind not come to Light: But, be that as it may, a sufficient Number occurred, capable of the strongest Evidence, to induce the *Boatman* to relinquish his Pretensions; such, indeed, as he well knew, must, with the greatest Justice, avoid his Election should it succeed, expose the Reputation of him and his Supporters, and, by their Flagrancy, and dangerous Tendency, might, perhaps, afford the most reasonable Ground for a Parliamentary Animadversion.

This, my Lord, is the true Sketch of the *Job* of the *Cork* Election, as the concurrent Testimonies of all candid Persons, who know any Thing of the Matter, can verify; and, indeed, the Party it bears hard on, are so much ashamed of it, that none of them, but my Author, who, by his frequent Blabbing, is apparently but half-informed in their Maxims of Conduct, would venture to start it to the Public Recollection. This, my Lord,

* Candid Inquiry, Page 38.

Lord, is one of these *complimenting Corporations* mentioned by our Author; and, to add all due Weight to these Compliments, we have but to observe an Instance or two among many of their notorious Abilities and moving Principles. To preserve their Independency, and prevent their falling under the Influence of OUR COUNTRY'S FRIEND, they complimented his, and the Kingdom's Enemies, with the entire and discretionary Disposal of themselves, their Corporation, and their every Measure; and are ready, at this Day, to hang themselves for conferring the Magistracy on a *Gentleman*, who, contrary to the Maxims of the true *mercantile Perseverance*, would not contribute to the Kingdom's Ruin, to gratify a private Pique, but joined in its Preservation under the Banner of him whom *they* so implacably hate.

As my Author mean'd no Harm to me, so, I believe, it will hardly be just to take him to Task for the Blows he has taken so much Pains to give the Gentleman, who is so unfortunate as not only to have my Pamphlet imputed to him, but also to bear all the personal Abuse it has excited. However, as he has incurr'd it all on my Account, so it may be necessary to become his Champion in as many Words as the Cause deserves. I will therefore only desire my Author, when he writes again, to keep clear of outrageous Scurrility: I can assure him it has done him infinite Mischief already, and brought much Disreputation on his Performances, particularly the last: Such a Conduct, indeed, would hurt the best Cause in the World, and adds double Deformity and accumulative Odium to a bad one, which stands no Chance of being tolerably received, but when under the Cover of cool, impartial Discussion, chaste Sentiment, and decent Plausibility.

He

He is much mistaken if he thinks he is concealed, for I know him well; though that Knowledge came by Accident, and not Curiosity; for it is of little Consequence to the World, or to me, who he is. Though his Bravadoes are meant for another, yet this I must say, that could the public Interest, or any one material Purpose on Earth be secured by it, I would, with the greatest Alacrity, emerge from my Privacy, and stand with as much Unconcern, as I now write, the utmost Fury of any of these his formidable Patrons, whom his abject Veneration magnifies into Deities. Though he asserts some uncommon Contrivance in the publishing of my *Letter*, he well knows it was advertised in the Papers for many Weeks, and sold with the usual Notoriety. What it is he presumes on (or his Printer in affixing his Name) may be easily conjectured; but I can't help thinking his Obscurity and Insignificance are his best Dependence; for, without in the least impeaching the Liberty of the Press, an Assertion of this Kingdom being nothing more than a *Province to England**, and a *Right in them to tax us at Discretion*, would, in an Object of sufficient Consequence, stand a very good Chance of a very undesirable Animadversion.

What Penance or Atonement, he means to expect by his *Advertisement*, for what I had advanced in my *Letter*, I protest, I am at a Loss to know. I said nothing but what was notorious, except the Information I had from *London* of the *intended* Union, the Truth of which I reiterate, and could shew the Voucher; nor will the Authority of it be impeached, should the Design not be attempted, for that will easily admit of a Solution. As to the Desertion accruing from his

G

Patron's

* Political Pastime, Page 19.

Patron's disgusting Insolence, it is known to be true, and, did we want a Confirmation, our Author's supereminent Indignation at the Mention, would, I think, be sufficient.

And now, my Lord, what have I more to say? To wish with all my Soul, and all my Faculties, that our Enemies may relinquish their vain and impracticable Projects, and the Society recover that Calm and Harmony so essential to its Felicity; that Ambition may soar still higher, not content with being distinguish'd without being truly *honour'd*, and striving to the Temple of Fame by the only Path which will not mislead, the Track of VIRTUE. That Priesthood may adhere to the Doctrines of the Religion that has appointed it, and preserve some Reverence and Gratitude for the Kingdom that supports its Affluence. And that Heaven will shower every Blessing on the inviolable Integrity and Fortitude of the DEFENDERS OF THEIR COUNTRY!

These occasional Interruptions of Bliss, these chequer'd Dispensations of the Almighty Hand, the frail, infirm State of faulty Man requires. In a constant Tranquillity we should grow too careless, too sufficient, and overweening; perhaps, forgetful of that Providence on whom our every Breath depends; every generous Principle would decay for Want of Use, and our Natures become incapable of any Share of Perfection. An Occasion like this awakens the latent Fires of every Virtue, gives every noble Spirit full Play for its Excellence, and strikes out and energizes each real Character, so as at once to fulfil and justify the ALL-WISE DECREES. When the Storm has blown over, every Breast is more highly qualify'd for the Exertion of social Excellence, and the Relish of the inestimable Blessings of Innocence and Liberty.

We

We hear of a Probability of Accommodation :
 No Event so desirable : And it were a Crime to
 doubt of its being grounded both firmly and
 justly. We may sleep secure of the Conduct of
 our national Guardians, who will consider our
 Adversaries in a Light, that Experience has long
 warranted, similar to the Character of the *French*
 Nation : Like them aspiring to universal Monar-
 chy, and like them fighting by powerful *Corrup-*
tion ; inclined to Treaties only from their Weak-
 ness, and tenacious of them only as Means of
 more dangerous Attacks ; indirect in every Mea-
 sure, and designing in every Condescension ;
 like them too, to be trusted only when disabled,
 and the *Nerves* of their Power to be cut, to pro-
 duce any Continuance of our Security. Peace
 can bring no great Sweets while Treachery re-
 mains in Vigour. In the human Body, if a Sore
 should arise, even the Patient would prefer an
 Operation of some Pain to remove it, while the
Constitution has the Superiority, to a superficial
 and temporary Healing, which would add to its
 Malignity, and enlarge its Influence : And in the
 Case of our Body politic, I am as thoroughly
 easy in the Conduct of our Protectors, as I should
 be in the other, were my Father my Physician.

If my Author will promise not to charge me
 with Incoherence, I would say three Words to
 those Gentlemen, who, from a noble Principle,
 are attach'd to the basest Cause ; I mean those
 whom distributive Favours have obliged. It is
 hard to speak to such ; for though one may have
 the greatest Hope of the Force of Reason where
 virtuous Motives are the Source of Conduct, yet
 Gratitude is a Sensation so ardent, so possessing
 the Whole of an honest Soul, that it becomes
 insensible to every Representation against the
 Objects of its Warmth. What then can be

done? Nothing, but conjuring them, in the Name of Virtue, to raise the Passion a little higher, and direct it to THE SOCIETY, entitled to the first and greatest Claim; a Claim to which every other should be subservient, and which takes Place with the first Instant of our Respiration; THE CARE OF MILLIONS, the End of our Being, the Basis of all Religion and all Morality, and the Use for which this and every other Principle were implanted in the human Breast. A *Cæsar* could not, with all his Largeesses of *usurped Distributions*, oblige a *BRUTUS* to the Ruin of his Country; nor could the noblest Spirits of *Britain* resist, in a later Case, the Call of PUBLIC GOOD, though restrained by every *Obligation* that Tyranny, and Popery could bestow.

I have done, my Lord, and fear I shall never trouble you more with my Correspondent, my worthy Author, so capable of the Idea of Liberty, and conscious of the interesting Feelings of Property. He will hold Commerce with none but one who writes like a Gentleman, and, I fear, his Notion of that, will be somewhat peculiar. My only Hope is, that he may change his Manner. As he forms every Step on some Plan of Antiquity, and cannot tell you of a spruce snug Fellow, without instancing *Dolabella*, or describe the Reverse, without introducing you to *Cassius*, who knows but he has been restraining the Force of his Genius, and clouding its Brightness, on the Maxim of his darling *Horace*, and we may find him one of these surprising Authors who chuse

Non Fumum ex Fulgore, sed ex Fumo dare Lucem,

So that his next Attempt may dazzle the World with its Splendor.

I beg

I beg Pardon for the Length of this Epistle,
which has been occasioned not by our Writer,
but the Cause on which he has fasten'd himself.
With all due Compliments

27/49

I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient

humble Servant.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE AUTHOR of this LETTER begs the
Favour of the Reader not to ima-
gine that his humble Pardon is thought by
any Person, to fall under the Condition stipulated
for their Correspondence; or that this pardon
better proceeds from any such Opinion, or any
Motive but a Desire of expressing some Gen-
tleness in the style of writing, which the
Author has thought fit to add.



I beg Pardon for the Length of this Epistle,
which has been occasioned not by our Writer,
but the Cause on which he has taken himself
With all due Compliments

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE AUTHOR of this LETTER begs the Favour of the *Candid Inquirer* not to imagine that his *Political Pastime* is thought, by any Person, to fall under the Condition stipulated for their Correspondence; or that this present Letter proceeds from any such Opinion, or any Motive but a Desire of expressing some Sentiments the Author was full of, to which the Folly of said Pamphlet afforded an Introduction less pompous than a Profession of a regular Essay.



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VII. A

VII. A LETTER to a Person of Distinction
in Town, from a Gentleman in the Country;
Containing some Remarks on a late Pamphlet,
intituled, "A Free and Candid Inquiry, &c."

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and cleared from the scandalous Aspersions
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7

A

L E T T E R

T O A

M E M B E R

O F T H E

H—E of C—s of I—D,

O N T H E

Present Crisis of Affairs in that
Kingdom.

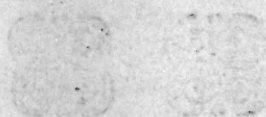
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L O N D O N :

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L O N D O N

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A

LETTER, &c.

S I R,

REMOTE as I am from all the Business of the World, the Scenes of Ambition, and the Struggles of the Great, I am not insensible to the Good or Evil that may befall my Country, or ungrateful to those, who, in Pursuance of their Trust, shall promote the one, or prevent the other. In the present Crisis of our Country's Affairs, he must not only be obscure, but dead, who can be uninformed of the Designs against it, or unsollicitous about the Events may happen. When the Mask is taken off, which has long been kept on, and Projects set on Foot, which were uniformly disowned; when, after having been long suspected, and solemnly disclaimed, they are openly pushed on by all the Arts of Corruption and the Weight of Power, Men can no longer hope to impose on our Credulity, or disguise, by their Words, what their Actions make evident.

As one of your Constituents I acquaint you with my Sentiments, and the Sense of all those you represent, (as far as my Knowledge of them reaches) both with regard to your past Behaviour, and what they expect from you hereafter. We consider you, of late, in the double Capacity of a Servant to the King, and a Guardian to the People, which, till very lately, were the same in this Kingdom; and how they became divided let them answer who occasion'd it. As a Servant

to the King, we leave you to your Masters ; and as we have made you our Representative, we require your Conurrence, and most strenuous Endeavours to oppose every Thing that shall be speciously recommended for the Service of the King, but is obviously destructive to the Welfare of your Country. Governors and Ministers may be as fallible as other Men ; and even a Multitude of Counsellors may be unacquainted with Safety. They may, possibly, resolve on the most pernicious Measures, and with the greatest Sincerity pursue them to our Undoing, unless check'd by that Power which the Constitution has form'd, as the last Resource against Injury and Oppression.

^A Should you differ in Opinion from any, or all, the King has intrusted with Power, you must pursue your own Judgment, be the Consequence as it will. If you incur their Displeasure, it is no Fault of ours ; but a Compliance with their Authority will be a Fault of yours, and an infamous Breach of the Trust you took upon you.

We have the Happiness to observe you have hitherto remain'd uninfluenced by Authority, and uncontroul'd by Power : As you set out, you have continued ; and we make no doubt you will persevere to the last. You have not been content barely to give your Voice as your Opinion led ; but, if we are rightly inform'd by numerous Testimonies, have exerted an Industry equal to your Abilities, and labour'd for your Country with the same Zeal and Diligence that others have used to encrease their private Fortunes. They, who divide from you, may plead the same, think they are right, and make the Good of their Country the Motive of their Actions ; but I would ask them one Question, Are they paid for their thinking so ? Were they loud in Opposition, till they were silenced by Pensions ? And then let them ask one Question of you, What do you expect ?— I leave the Answer to yourself ; but, in our ordinary

nary Thinking, you have nothing to expect, and nothing to fear.

It is the Artifice of all who are in Favour, or expect it, to clamour against such as suspect a Ministry of any evil Designs. For two Years past we have heard of nothing but the Wickedness of vile Incendiaries, and malignant Opposers to the best of Governors! desperate Wretches! who would imbroil the State by insinuating Mischief, and alarming the People with pretended Fears! Have they not told us they have nothing to ask, and can we possibly suspect the Purity of their Intentions? To whom, in my Opinion, the Answer would be pertinent, that the *Dutch* Burgomaster gave to *Lewis XIV.* "I know all you can do, and you know what you intend to do."

Is it nothing to ask us to alter the Constitution? to make Concessions that will be eternal Precedents? that we not only assent to Alterations made for us, and the Urgency of Affairs may render necessary once to comply with, but, to compleat the Rule, that we begin it ourselves, and establish it into Law and Right for ever? Is this no Attempt that ought to put us on our Guard, make us deaf to Assurances, and give their Promises to the Wind?

In a Constitution like ours, all Concessions must be fatal, and every *Right* that is *unasserted*, or *given up*, must be, and will be, irrecoverably lost. The *Principles* of our *Constitution* are not *originally* in ourselves, and it never can be *mended*, by *resolving* to them again. Whatever we *allow*, and *consent*, we should be made, in that Condition we must remain for ever, without Hope or Possibility of Remedy. We have no Root of our own, and are only *grafted* on another Stock; and if left to abide where at first we took Growth, may live and flourish; but will languish and die, if our Situation be changed. *Ireland* is now no longer a *Succor* that drains the Moisture from the *Parent*
Root,

Root, without Increase or producing Fruit, but a thriving Branch if *duly cultured*, and profitable as any that the Tree can boast; but still it is a Branch, and, if once it withers, will not revive again.

England, sprung from a *native Root*, has, within herself, all the *Principles* of her *Constitution*, and, in all the Changes and Injuries she has suffer'd, return'd to them again, when her *Estate* grew desperate. She rose like a *Phoenix*, when she was thought to be consumed; and the Experience of more than twenty Centuries has shewn, that neither foreign Invasions, or domestick Oppressions, the Knavery of *Ministers*, or the *Tyranny* of Princes, are able to suppress that Spirit of Liberty by which she originally was founded, and which has preserved her to be the last of all the *Kingdoms* in *Europe* where any Freedom remains.

One Part of her Liberty, and one only, has been granted to *Ireland*, viz. to give the King Supplies by a *Representative* chosen by the People; for on that depends, and from that follows, every other Right and Property we enjoy: If that *Right* be given up, and we voluntarily divest ourselves of it, how do we differ from the most *despotick* State? or with what Propriety can we be said to possess any thing? if, instead of the *People granting to the King*, we acquiesce in the *King's granting to the People*, then the People, and their *Property*, are his for ever. They are in the same Condition with the Subjects of *Morocco*, and may be legally converted to the same Uses. And, in my Apprehension, if such an Attempt had succeeded in this Country, it had been our Happiness to have been born *Blacks*, and have a *Sancho* for our Governor, to sell us Wholesale to the *Indies*; we could lose nothing by Transportation, and should gain a better *Climate* to comfort our Spirits.

Whether any such Attempt has been made, you best know; and whether likely to be made again, can best guess.

You

You were one of the first, I remember, to discover the deep-laid Design that was form'd for the Reduction of the *Kingdom*; and, by a well-judged Opposition, in a *Point* which seem'd to most People no Way connected with the *Publick*, forced a Discovery of *unripen'd Schemes*, and *sprung* the *Mine* before it was ready for Execution.

What a Train of *desperate* Councils and *odious* Measures have been pursued for the Space of three Years, to botch the bungling Mischief they had made, and *cram* down a Dose that must work our Dissolution? Thanks be to Heaven they have fail'd as yet; and the Soundness of our *Constitution* has eminently appear'd, and master'd the Poison they administer'd.

A *national Strength* is never known till try'd; and the Struggle you have had will convince our Enemies, that *Property*, united with *Honesty*, will be too strong for the *venal* Efforts of *Poverty*, and the Influence of *exhausted* Corruption. *Corruption* seems now to have *done her worst* among us; too *weak* to proceed, and too barefaced to lie hid. Exposed, detected, and defeated, she can hardly hope to raise her Head again, or recover Credit with her most devoted Friends. *Bankrupt*, can she hope for Credit? and, pennyless, can she give Security? Will *Promises* pass for current *Coin*, when given without *Authority*, and received without *Confidence*?

Men, at such a Juncture, must not only be without *Honesty*, but without *Sense*, to be made again the Tools of undone Ambition, and do the *Work of Iniquity* without the Wages of Prostitution.

With what Face these Gentlemen can meet their *Constituents*, on another Occasion, must be left to themselves; but one would think it must be an awkward Meeting, and with an ill Grace will they ask for Favours after Confidence abused, and Trust betray'd.

In

In all Debates have ever happen'd in this *Kingdom*, till this last Period of desperate Ambition, there was some Pretence, or colourable Evasion, for Apostacy and Infidelity; and to say Truth, for thirty Years past, the Occasions were not equal for defending or *plundering* with Alacrity.

When the Duke of *Grafton* came here, as Lord Lieutenant, Sir *Robert Walpole* had but just establish'd his sole Dominion; and tho' the Banishment of *Rocheſter* had convinced his Enemies, that he had Spirit to undertake, as well as Strength to execute, whatever he judged would be conducive to his Purposes: Yet he found an Opposition to every Measure he propos'd, and that the event, and most firmly conducted, that ever any *English* Minister had to cope with, as it was founded on general and popular Principles, and carry'd on by Men of singular Industry, great Abilities, and powerful Fortunes.

But his Genius rose superior to every Difficulty that lay in his Way, and he always carry'd the Point he had in View, without spending any Power, or temporizing with Parties. He was afraid of no Parties, and despised the Resentments of their greatest Leaders. *Stairs* and *Argyle*, the Patrons of a considerable Body. *Cobham*, *B—n*, *C—r—d*, *B—d*, and *C—t*, with the Protectors of the whole Body of Dissenters, and a hundred others, when they would not ply, he laid aside, with as much Ease, as discharge his Coachman. Thus, at Liberty to pursue his own Dictates, he was neither to be threatened into Measures, or saddled with *Favourites*; or ever obliged to employ *Men he did not like*, by Court Intrigues, or Country Clamour. He was compell'd in one Instance only, and that in a Kind of *Under-Plot* in the *State Drama*, to make an Attempt in *Ireland*, which had been of infinite ill Consequence if pursued, but which he dropp'd when he saw its Tendency; and probably had never

never set it on Foot, if any other Method, than giving a Patent to *Wood*, could, at that Time, have been thought of there, to get a round Sum at once for a Friend at Court, who loved nothing belonging to the *British* Dominions, but their Gold and their Operas. His Successors in the Administration have not been so fortunate, as, for a single Hour, to find themselves free, either from secret Influence, or popular Opposition: They can have no Will of their own, because they have no Power of their own, but what is shared with many, and avoid publick Opposition only by complying with every private Sollicitation. They must flatter their Constituents, as their Constituents do their Electors, and share a precarious Power with any one who has a Burrough at Command, as much as he must bribe and flatter his mercenary Potwallopers. If it be ask'd, what can occasion this Difference between theirs and Sir *Robert Walpole's* Administration, when it is a Fact undeniable, that he built his Power on the same Foundations, on popular Venality, and Court Protection? the Answer is, That (setting aside superior Talents) he was true to the Constitution, though he practised every Art of Bribery and Corruption. He saw no other Way, when Opposition was so strong, to preserve his Power, which he resolved to possess for Life. But, without sacrificing the united Constitution of Church and State, and being, as Lord *Bacon* says of *Cæsar*, his own Centre, he drew every Thing to it; but did not, like the other, to effect his Purpose, weaken, much less overturn, the Foundation on which he stood; or, what is next to overturning, resign the Supports of it. If he left his Country in a less flourishing Condition, and less respectable Figure in the Esteem of our Neighbours than might have been expected from a peaceable and profuse Administration, he left it the Means of recovering both, when any succeeding Minister, in more happy Conjunctions, or,

at least, more favourable to his own Support, should have Ability and Courage to undertake it. The Constitution remained in all Essentials as he found it, and, I believe, no Instance can be given of his varying once from fundamental Laws, through all the Instances of his Mismanagement. He knew he was not *exerting*, but resolved not to impair, the Strength of the Constitution. The *British* Oak may be pruned and lopp'd, have her Branches stunted, and her Growth suppress'd, may be riven by Blasts, or defaced by Storms; but, whilst the Root remains untouch'd and sound, will, one Time or other, make a vigorous *Shoot*, erect her Head, and overspread the Forest. But this will never happen, till a Minister shall arise, both with great Abilities, and concurring Advantages, or from the Security of his own Power at home, shall be able to *make*, instead of *waiting for*, a *Crisis*. When this will fall out I shall not pretend to guess, or what might have hinder'd it during *Walpole's* last Years of Power, or in the Interval since that expired; but, sure I am, it is not to be expected under any precarious or pusillanimous Administration which may hereafter arise. It is not to be expected from them if they prove so short-sighted as to weaken their Hands at home, in order to strengthen them abroad; if they flatter one *Part* of his Majesty's Dominions at the Expence of *another*; if they beggar one *Part* to enrich *another*, and look no farther than the Proximity of the Danger they remove, and neglect a greater, because more distant. Sir *William Temple* compares the Genius of such a Ministry to a *scanty Blanket*, if you cover your Shoulders you expose your Feet; which, though it may be preferable to being uncover'd above, is still uncomfortable, and will not fail, if we lie long a-bed, to bring on painful Cramps, and make us walk very awkwardly when we rise.

I desire, Sir, I may not be misunderstood, or supposed,

supposed, by you, to glance at the present Ministers, or reflect on any Thing they have hitherto done. I think, in general, they have done more than could well be hoped for in many Circumstances we remember them beset with; but I argue on supposed Events, which we are told must soon fall out, but which, I hope and believe, are not prefaged on any certain Knowledge of new Designs, or that any Thing is design'd without a free Deliberation first had, and the Utility of all Measures well weigh'd and agreed to. It were an Injury done our Governors to suppose otherwise; and, I again repeat, I suppose nothing of this, as I hope you will plainly observe in the ensuing Part of this Letter, wherein I beg leave to remind you of what, perhaps, you knew better than I do, but did not, in our last talking together, think material to be consider'd.

Whatever then may have been the Reasons, it is certain that, in all the successive Administrations we can remember, nothing was ever projected materially distressful of *I—d*, or tending to Innovation in the Government of it, unless where we were restrained in certain Articles of Trade, which no Right to, but Custom and Indulgence, was ever pretended, and which manifestly interfered with that of *England*: And altho' the Ministry forbore many Things they knew would prove beneficial to *England* as well as *Ireland*, such as letting us into lower Branches of the Woolen Manufacture, traffick from the Plantations in the unenumerated Goods, and sundry other Articles, in compliance with the general, tho' wrong Apprehension of several trading Towns, and Wool-growing Countries, of *England*; yet it is but of late that a Petition from any single manufacturing Town, attended with obvious Advantages to our Enemies, and no Benefit to more than two or three leading Tradesmen there, should prevail against the Interest of a whole Kingdom, and a long continued

and encouraged Industry. I desire, Sir, if you can, you will give me a better Reason for it than this, (*viz.*) that a Burrough-Interest, and not a national Interest, has brought it to pass. Burroughs make it a Point with their Representatives, the Representatives with their Friends, and all in a body with the Minister, who, I am afraid, cannot help complying, without impairing his Strength, and losing Friends at a Pinch; and the Example being set, other Representatives have a Call, in their Turn, on the Friends they have obliged, to humour their Constituents, and get them a Market for their Wares. Thus, Sir, it will, probably, go round, 'till a Minister be proud enough to refuse, as well as too proud to ask.

But tho' this seems to me a clear Account of some Things transacted on t'other Side, I think it would be impossible to account, on any other Principles than those of Caprice, or Corruption, for any Innovation in the Forms of Government here, or any Attempt to take Power out of the accustomed Channel. Things have gone on in the same Track ever since we can remember. When the Duke of *Grafton* came here, he ask'd nothing but the ordinary Supplies, recommended little more than a Care of the Linen Manufacture, and the Speaker of the H—e of C—s carry'd every thing quietly, and to general Satisfaction. Lord C——t, it is well known, was made Lord Lieutenant, with no other View but to get him out of his Office, where, it seems, he was not agreeable to the Minister; and tho' the Activity of his Genius, and his Disposition to Levity, made him affect Intrigue, and put on a Face of Mystery and Business, yet it soon appear'd to be but a Copy of his Countenance, and that he had nothing in charge more than what was usual: And to speak Truth, *Ireland*, at that Time, was hardly worth undoing, and forced to run in Debt to maintain her Lists, which may be an Apology for that Nobleman's Conduct,
and

and Indemnify him in the Opinion of his Friends, who might otherwise be inclined to think meanly of his Parts, as one who did not know what belong'd to his Business, or deserve the great Character he had acquired, tho' very unjustly, of doing well for himself.

His Excellency, however, let Things run on in the usual Channel, and the Feint he made of substituting the Chancellor and Primate in the Room of the Speaker, and administering his *Government* by them, turn'd out to be no more than a Piece of *State Wagery*, and seem'd only design'd to testify the Contempt in which he had both them and the Kingdom.

His Successor, it is certain, gave no Offence, or any Cause of Suspicion in the first Years of his Administration; and the Attempt made to get granted some Revenue for Twenty-one Years, was not of his promoting; nor was it rightly understood without Doors, where it was generally thought to include *all the Revenue* granted to his Majesty, and raised a groundless Clamour of a Design to lay Parliaments aside for the Term intended. His G—'s present Administration need not be mention'd. To write a Panegyrick on it, would be like praising one to his Face; and to say any thing short of the Testimony his M—y has borne and *testify'd* of his G—'s Conduct in every high Station he has occupy'd, were Presumption in any private Person (however respectable,) much more in a Plebeian; and, in effect, were to contradict the united Sense of all, whom his M—y has thought fit to honour with his Confidence, *and trust with his Commands*.

Our late Vicegerent may also be pass'd by for Reasons, tho' not so cogent, yet, in some Degree, respectable, as he not only carry'd with him the Approbation of the People whom he govern'd, but was remember'd with Honour when he quitted Power, and his M—y's Choice most gratefully acknowledged

acknowledged by those, from whom only his Majesty expected a Representation to be made. I shall, therefore, only say of his Excellency, that he attempted no Change in the Plan of Power deliver'd down to him.

His immediate Predecessor (for I observe no Order of Succession in this Letter) came to us at a Juncture when Innovations might be dangerous, and when great Abilities might be thought necessary to keep his Ground, and acquit himself with Safety to the State, and Credit to himself. He did both; and tho' I am far from doubting the Integrity and Candor, Penetration and Judgment of that beloved Nobleman, yet I must have leave to say, that his Lot was not unfortunate, when he fell on troubled Times, or his Government the less likely to be easy, that the People were uneasy and alarm'd, and justly apprehensive of Dangers. He had a Certainty of finding an unanimous Concurrence with him in Parliament in every Point that concern'd the Publick Weal, and a particular Attention to it then, from fix'd Principles of Loyalty, as well as occasional Considerations of Danger: And for any Attempts out of Parliament, they depended on Successes elsewhere, which his well-timed Courtesy to the Papists, and the benign Sentiments he expressed towards them, had but little influenced one Way or other, if Occasion had served to their Expectation. But tho' his Excellency made no Changes in the usual Course of the Administration, he sufficiently shew'd his Attention to Men, without much Consideration of their Fitness for any Office, or any Employment to which he destin'd them; and, in quieter Times, had probably given farther Proofs of that gentle Disposition of Mind, and easiness of Temper, as well as Manners, which ever guided him, in his most important Transactions, to prefer those who could divert him, before such as could serve either himself or the Publick.

I have

I have pass'd by the D—e of D——e, as the least has been said of his Administration of any we have known ; tho' this must be said by all, that an honest Gentleman never appear'd in so high a Station, or one more resolved to act in publick, without any Considerations of private Favour. As he came into Power unwillingly, he testify'd, by his Conduct, that he had neither promised, or would be persuaded, to concur in any Jobs, that might be recommended to him here or elsewhere.

After this View of the Course which has been steer'd by so many of our Governors, in such different Situations, I believe, Sir, you will think it pretty natural to enquire, what can be the Motives that should induce any succeeding Governor to shape another Course, which we are told (but, I hope, without Authority,) is intended. Is it on publick or private Considerations, that Power must be diverted from a Channel where it ran smoothly on for many Years past ? Has the publick Welfare declined, or his Majesty's Revenue been lessen'd, under the usual Administration here ? No such Thing. The Kingdom has prosper'd, in a few Years, beyond Expectation, and beyond Example. Has his Majesty's hereditary Revenue, and which may be call'd his Privy Purse, been straitened, or his Assignments on it refused ? On the contrary, it is much greater by the Increase of Inhabitants, and, consequently, of Hearth-money ; and all Over-drawings are chearfully comply'd with. Has our Prosperity been a Detriment to our Mother-Country ? Impossible ; as we go on different Trade, and our Wealth is pour'd into her as fast as she will receive it.

It seems then, however ridiculous in the Supposition, that Motives, altogether *personal* and *private*, must be the leading Causes of the strange Resolutions we hear of ; but where to fix them is difficult : It can hardly be intended to gratify a
young

young Gentleman here, only to shew his Friends how well he can become every Station, from the *lowest* to the *highest*: It cannot be design'd to humour another *young Gentleman*, only to gratify his *Parents* with the Pleasure of seeing him in a venerable Dress. It cannot be design'd to make a Fortune for a *third young Gentleman*, who, unhappily being a younger Brother, must be made equal to his elder in Point of Fortune. Much less can I imagine that any Design is on Foot to make the C——s of I——d so dependent on the Government, as to take the Law from the Council-board, as is idly suggested; because this Dependency can no Way be secured but by one of their own Body, whose Regards for this Country they must be well assured of: And without such an one, it has already been found, no Business there can be done, or proceed with Satisfaction both to King and People; and such a Man will not answer other Purposes of the Scheme.

But tho' the Secret is not easily found out, and the *Design*, as well as Motives may be hid among the *Arcana Imperii*; yet the mighty Preparations that are openly making, the infinite Industry, Artifice, and Interest employ'd to secure Friends, and intimidate, by *Authority*, those they cannot gain, plainly discovers a Design, in some Persons, of compassing something they are sufficiently aware will be disagreeable to the People. I have seen, Sir, in another Kingdom, an Attack on Power, where the Scene was to be shifted; and tho' the Stage was larger, and the Plot more interesting, yet the Actors, tho' more numerous, were not busier, or more attentive to their Parts, than ours are. The least curious must observe this; and to want Curiosity, at such a Time, is to want Sense, or to want Honesty: In the first Case we are the *Dupes*, and in the second the *Tools* of Ambition.

Shall we, Sir, be amused, intimidated, or banter'd,

banter'd, by the Favourites of Favourites, by the Dependents or Expectants of Men in Power, to believe, that nothing is meant by all this Stir, but the national true Interest and Glory, as some of these subaltern Schemers absurdly phrase it? We have nothing to do with Glory, the Glory of *England* is ours, which we have a Right to share in, as we principally promote it; and enjoy more sincerely than even *British* Subjects the Successes of our great and glorious Monarch.

If, laying aside Glory, these Gentlemen would prove, that the joint Interests of *England* and *Ireland* are intended by the Measures they are pursuing, we might think more favourably of their Intentions, than we are disposed to at present, whatever be our Opinion of the Measures. The last they may say; and, plausibly, it is not prudent to disclose prematurely, but it is both prudent and necessary, for their Scheme, to shew the Possibility of bettering this Country by any Change in the Forms of Administration, that they will serve more to enrich the Subject, and, at the same Time, enlarge his Majesty's Power of rewarding the Merit of his Servants. That a Change is intended, at least, by some here, they will not have the Front to deny; and if they should, every Declaration they make, and every Step they take, sufficiently evinces the Design. Every Promise to soothe, and Menace to terrify, must leave on the Mind a deep Sense of premeditated Malice, and the hopeless Condition of their desperate Enterprize.

They say, in Case of Opposition, *England* will cramp our Trade, and withdraw the valuable Indulgences and Favours they have heap'd upon us, &c. I own, Sir, it does not seem possible to me, that we can provide for our civil and military Lists, if we are farther restrain'd in the main Articles of our Commerce. The overplus Revenues, which have been growing for a few Years, are plainly owing to the Encrease of our Wealth during
C the

the War, and the prodigious Imports we made in every Article of Luxury, when we could find no other Employment but to squander away what we had gained by so unexpected a Chance. It is natural for all poor Countries, (as well as poor Persons) to judge, like young Gamesters, that every Spurt of Success they meet, will prove a settled Inheritance; and, in this sanguine Hope, squander more in a Week, than, with proper OEconomy and Frugality, might be a sufficient Fund for Industry to work on the Remainder of their Lives. Nothing therefore can be fairly concluded from this Menace.

It is further urged, that such an Opposition will cut off every *Irishman* from any Hope of Preferment to Places of Trust and Eminence. For my own Part, or rather, according to my own Sense, I answer, Let them saddle us with as many *English* as they please, provided they have some Regard to the *Quality* as well as *Quantity* they are pleased to import; though, I confess, I should be better pleased to see some of their curious Imports in every Station re-shipp'd, such as, *Coxcomb Judges, who know in Law, nor Text, nor Margent; Tradesmen Bishops*, who come to improve us in Frugality and Book-keeping, calculating Expences by wise Maxims, and Peasant Observations.

But of all the Insinuations which they daily throw out to amuse some Men and intimidate others, the weakest, and the least founded on Reason and Experience, seems to me to make the strongest Impression. Are we not, say they, in the Power of *England*? shall we offend them by an ill-timed Opposition? shall we provoke them, by refusing Demands, to exert their Power, make Laws without our Consent, and perhaps lay aside all Parliaments in *Ireland*? Pray, in such a Case, what can we do, or how can we resist?

We neither can, or intend to do any Thing, and none but Fools or Madmen can ever think of
Resistance :

Resistance: But happy is it, and happy has it been for the Liberty of *Ireland*, that they who love us least, have always been, and always will be, the Protectors of *our* Liberty, till they have lost their *own*; and, whatever Steps any Ministry has taken to establish, or even enlarge, a discretionary Power among us, have been so soft and gradual, as to be almost imperceptible, to give no Alarm to the Jealousy of *England*, or the Apprehensions of the people there for their own Safety; or else when their Designs of governing *us* without Law have been visible and avowed, they have never failed to end in the Ruin of the Projectors here, overturn the Ministry, and even shake the Throne. In how many Instances has this been verify'd in the Course of one Century, from the Times of *Strafford* to *Tyrconnel*, to pass by other less distinguished Events?

The Manner of conniving at, or encouraging an arbitrary Power in *Ireland*, was so well understood in King *William's* Reign, that there was hardly a Quarter Session held in any Part of *England*, but the Chairman took Notice of it in his Charge to the Inquest. I could produce enough to make a Volume, but will only mention to this Purpose, the Charge of Lord *Delamer*, afterwards Earl of *Warrington*, at the Sessions of *Warrington*, 1689, when he was Member in Parliament for *Cheshire*, and is printed under the Title of, *Observations on the Prince of Orange's Declaration*. His Words are these. "He that would set up arbitrary Power in *England*, must first try his Hand upon *Ireland*, it having been observed, that whatever arbitrary Thing has been done in *England*, it has first been practised in *Ireland*; so that whenever Things go irregularly in *Ireland*, *England* cannot think herself safe; for there is nothing more certain in human Affairs, than that, when a King misapplies his Power in one Kingdom, it is not for Want of Inclination,

“ but Means and Opportunity, that he does not
 “ so in all other Places of his Dominion; as, for
 “ Example, if a King keep *one of his Kingdoms*
 “ *without Parliaments*, he would do so *in another*,
 “ if not compelled by Necessity to do otherwise.”
 —And again. “ The Irregularities of Adminis-
 “ tration in *Ireland* will sooner or later affect *Eng-*
 “ *land*.” Thus far, and much farther, proceeds
 this good Patriot, and brave Stickler for the Liber-
 ties of *England*, against the arbitrary Measures of
 two popish and tyrannick Princes.

This, Sir, with your own Reflections on the
 Nature of the Constitution, as well as the Temper
 and Disposition of the People of *England*, will be
 enough to convince you, that these Gentlemen only
 threaten us with a Power they will not be permitted
 to exert, and which no King of *England* ever yet
 exerted, without raising the Jealousy of his Subjects
 at home, and which, in two Instances, proved fa-
 tal to two Kings; and for which one Lieutenant
 lost his Head, and another went into Exile with
 the unhappy Prince, whom he, and other evil
 Counsellors, had conspired to throw headlong from
 his Throne.

It is pleasant to observe the Grimace of some,
 and the sagacious Fears of others when these Sub-
 jects are talked of — they should be sorry the Lord
 Lieutenant were opposed in doing the King's Bu-
 siness—fatal to *Ireland* to give Offence—God knows
 what they will do if provoked——let us keep well
 with *England*——with a String of other Sayings
 equally Senseless, or calculated to deceive. Pray
 does the *British* House of Commons comply with
 all the King's Demands? Don't they every Day
 debate and oppose the Measures he proposes? and
 shall it be Disaffection in the Commons of *Ireland*
 to oppose the Designs of his Vice-Roy?

Whatever shall be the Fate of the Sp——r and
 his Friends, he has shew'd the World an Instance
 of *Roman* Spirit, not equall'd in the History either of
 this

this or our *Parent Country*; nor were the Circumstances of any *Minister* in either, so glorious to himself, or so shameful to his *Opponents*. In all popular Oppositions we read of, and in every Stand made against any *Minister* from the Earl of *Kent*, to the Fall of *Walpole*, (*Mortimer* only excepted) it was a Struggle of the *People* against the real or supposed Encroachments of the Crown. It was *Privilege* against *Prerogative*, and publick Property against *private* Right. But, in his Case (as singular as the Virtues that distinguish him) it is a Struggle of the *People* to add Power to the Crown, to enlarge *Prerogative*, and break every Fence against *Will* and *Pleasure*, when ever we are so unhappy as to have a Prince on the *Throne* less good and gracious than the present. He is not defending either the *People* against the *Crown*, or the *Crown* against the *People*, (for thank God, in this *loyal* Country the last is needless) but he has spent his Life, foregone all Hopes of *Wealth* and *Titles*, Reward to himself, or Grandeur to his Family, to defend and protect some infatuated People against themselves. A *People* not worth undoing till he made them what they are, by convincing every *Governor* of his Time, that any Endeavours to suppress their growing *Fortunes*, if attempted, should not succeed, or find the least Concurrence either in *him*, or his Friends.

From a *late Attempt* we may judge and foresee what we are to expect when that Power shall be removed, which has hitherto withstood all *Attempts* to makes us surrender up ourselves, and disclaim all Right and Property in our *Inheritance*; to acknowledge ourselves but *Possessors in Trust*, and indebted to our *Owners* for the Money we earn, and the Bread we eat.

How long we shall be *otherwise*, depends solely on ourselves. Weak as we are, we have it still in our Power to preserve our *Rights* and *Liberty* entire; and happy is it for us, that they, who love

love us least, will protect us in them till they have lost their own, and not suffer any *ambitious Minister* to take one *arbitrary Step* to our Undoing. But if a People will conspire against themselves, and legally make over their Property to another, there is no Remedy against their own *Act and Deed*. They are *Felo de se*, and Goods and Chattles must be forfeited of Course. If they will use the same Industry to ruin themselves, that all other Nations have done for Preservation, they may, probably, succeed, and enjoy the Happiness of having undone their Country. They may have the same Pleasure on seeing a *Great Man* fall, that *Children* have on being set free from the *Power* that controul'd them, at the same Time it preserved them, and restrain'd their Follies whilst it secured their Happiness.

A little Time will shew, whether *Madness* or *Reason* shall prevail, and whether the Endeavours of the *Needy* and *Profligate* shall be able to reduce to a State of Wretchedness and abject Dependence, a People just emerging from *Poverty* to *Wealth*, and from Contempt to Veneration; or whether the *righteous Guardians* of their Property, and every Thing valuable, to whom they have entrusted themselves and their Posterity, shall be able to resist the *Torrent* of Corruption has been breaking in upon them, and reserve their *Country* for *better Times* and a happier Fate.

But whatever be the Event, one Thing is sure, that they and their Descendants, who shall betray their Trust, will be mark'd with *Infamy* to the latest Generation. Their *Numbers* will not protect them from present Detestation, or their unhappy Families from everlasting Abhorrence.

And that they who have been faithful, and particularly *they*, who have *risk'd their Fortunes* to serve their Country, and exerted their *superior Abilities and Eloquence* to influence a *desperate* and *self-devoted Representative*, shall draw upon themselves, and
entail

entail on their Families the Esteem and Love of all good Men, and the lasting Blessings of the People. And that our great *Patriot* and *Protector* shall be had in *Remembrance* whilst *Virtue* and *Integrity* shall remain among Men, or the *Constitution* last, he has so nobly defended. *Stand*, or *fall*, his *Merit* is the same, and his *Felicity* will be either Way secure; he may say with *Brutus*, *Si secuta fuerit quæ debet fortuna, Gaudebimus omnes, sin minus, Ego tamen gaudebo*. And whether *Joy* or *Grief* is doom'd for his Country, his good Name will abound. And (as the best of Writers * speaks of the best Governor of *Britain*, whom he remarkably resembles in the Plainness of his Manners, the Modesty of his Pretensions and the Firmness of his Mind.)

“ Whatever we have loved in *B—e*, whatever we
 “ have admired, still continues, and will continue
 “ in the Memories of Men, the *Fame of Deeds*,
 “ and the *Annals* of Time; many will die inglorious, and be bury'd in Oblivion, but *B—e*
 “ shall survive, be deliver'd down to Posterity,
 “ and commemorated in After-Ages.”

21749

* TACITUS in the Life of AGRICOLA.

F I N I S.

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THE
PROCEEDING

Of the HONOURABLE

House of Commons

O F

IRELAND,

In Rejecting the Altered

MONEY-BILL,

On DECEMBER 17, 1753,

VINDICATED

By AUTHORITIES taken from the LAW
and USAGE of PARLIAMENT.

Wherein are occasionally exposed the Fallacies of
two Pamphlets, intituled, "CONSIDERATIONS ON
" the late Bill, &c."—And "OBSERVATIONS
" Relative to the late Bill for paying off the Re-
" sidue of the National Debt."

The Sublimity of Administration consists in knowing perfectly the proper Degree of Power, great or small, that should be exerted on different Occasions.

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Vol. I. p. 250.

The SECOND EDITION.

D U B L I N:

Printed for PETER WILSON, in Dame-street, 1754.

Advertisement.

THE Reader is desired to take Notice, that a Pamphlet, intituled, "OBSERVATIONS relative to the LATE BILL, for paying off the RESIDUE of the NATIONAL DEBT of IRELAND," which is partly exposed in the following Sheets for its notorious Fallacies, tending most cruelly to Prejudice *Ireland*, by a Misrepresentation of her Conduct in a delicate Point, hath been within a few Days re-printed in LONDON, under the NEW TITLE of, "AN ACCOUNT of the REVENUE and NATIONAL DEBT of IRELAND, with some Observations on the late Bill for paying off the National Debt. In which is contained a Speech in the Parliament of *Henry Lord Viscount Sidney*, Lord Lieutenant in the Year 1692; as also an Order of Council, and several Resolutions of the House of Commons extracted from their Journals, paral'el to the present Juncture of Affairs in that Kingdom." It is impossible for any Man, but the Contriver, with Certainty to say, what was the Intention of this Change: But be it what it may, it is hoped, this Notice will prevent it from passing under its DISGUISE, as unanswered and unanswerable, and will save the *innocent Country* from being hurt by that which is suspected to be a concerted Scheme of its *unnatural Enemies*.



T H E
P R O C E E D I N G, &c.

MISREPRESENTATION of either House of *Parliament*, in a Matter of great Importance, to their *Sovereign*, or to the *People*, is an Offence not to be forgiven; Because, it tends to dissolve that Confidence, which is the natural Support of the Constitution, and which alone can give Weight and Dignity to the Supreme Power.

YET, that such a Misrepresentation of the Honourable House of *Commons* of *Ireland* hath, by some means, been transported into *Great-Britain*, the sad Effects do too plainly prove.

AND that it is also endeavoured to be imposed upon and propagated amongst their Constituents, is as clear, from sundry Pamphlets, little better than Libels against the *Commons*, against the *Constitution*, and against *Truth*, being at a great Expence, and in a manner unusual in this Kingdom, put into the Hands of all, who will accept of

them, from the *Capital* to the remotest Corner of the Nation.

HAD the *Parliament* been permitted to meet after the ordinary Recess, the *Commons*, who have ever been true and faithful Subjects, to the *best* and *most beloved* King in the World, would most surely have defended themselves before the *Throne*, in a manner becoming their Dignity, and the Figure that *illustrious* Body make in the State; and would have justified their Actions, with the Spirit and Sense, they are (happily for those they represent) possessed of, in a most eminent Degree.

THEN indeed, it would have been extremely improper, for any private Person, to pretend to take the weighty Task of their Vindication upon him: But since a *sudden Prorogation* hath deprived our *Representatives* of the glorious Opportunity of laying their Cause in a *parliamentary* and *dutiful* Manner before their just Sovereign, it cannot be looked upon to be presumptuous in an Individual, even to attempt to rescue the People from the Snares laid for them, by the ruinous Doctrines published every Day, and by false Tales without Cessation spread amongst them, to induce them to think much worse of their Constitution, than, bad as it is, it really deserves; and thus, by making them desperate, and careless of what shall happen, to obtain that Opportunity, which otherwise they could not find, of gradually, and without Interruption, paring away their *Liberty*.

To effect the bad Purposes of the Enemies to the *most glorious Majority* that ever was seen in Parliament, were the two Pamphlets, mentioned in the Title-Page, apparently written and published. The *CONSIDERATIONS*, &c. are a smooth, superficial Work, disguising the true Nature of the Question, and calculated to captivate the Affection, not to convince the Judgment.

THE *OBSERVATIONS*, &c. are plainly designed as a Sequel to the other, and to supply the Deficiency of the former in parliamentary Learning, which they profusely scatter, without Pertinence to the Subject, or Fairness in Argument.

THESE however require Notice; for there is something plausible in them, and apt to take hold of an ingenious Mind, not sufficiently instructed, but disposed to learn the Truth.

THERE is another Pamphlet in being, called *A Letter to the Publick*, which hath, it seems, so far recommended it self to some *considerable* Persons, as to be patronized by them. This is evidently put together for the Sake of its declamatory Abuse, and to ingratiate the Author with his Patrons. But as he has very precipitately declared, in Page 30, *our unhappy Disputes, to have been, not about Essentials, but merely upon Forms and Ceremonies*, I shall leave him to his Friends, the *Considerations*, and *Observations*, to be chastised, for making

nothing at all of what they have made such a *Po-*
ther about.

It is not sufficient to answer the material Parts of my two Adversaries : This would take up but little of my Time ; but then the Readers would not be much edified by the Controversy. The Curiosity of the Publick is awakened ; People desire to be informed minutely in a Matter wherein it is said every Body is intimately concerned. They have a Right to be gratified. In a free Country, He who holds Knowledge from the People, means to make their Ignorance an Instrument to enslave them.

As I am not privy to any such Scheme against their Happiness, I shall deliver all I know, or have heard, with any Probability of being true, relative to the late rejected Money-Bill, with as much Clearness as I am master of. My Candor will best be proved by the Manner in which I shall discharge myself. Experience teaches that Professions of *Honesty* are not always remembered in the Time of Action ; and therefore a Writer should wave all Pretensions to it, until his impartial Judge the Publick fixes on his Performance a *Probatum est*.

My Work will consist of two Parts. First, to relate the History of the Money-Bill to the Time of its being rejected. Secondly, to assign the Reasons for rejecting it ; and throughout the whole, I shall
examine

examine the CONSIDERATIONS and OBSERVATIONS as they occur.

IN October 1749, the *Publick Accounts* being laid before the House of Commons, it appeared upon the Face of them, that there remained in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers, at *Lady-day* preceding, to which Time the Accounts were made up, after all Exigencies of Government were satisfied, a Sum of two hundred and twenty thousand two hundred and forty-one Pounds, four Shillings and six Pence. Hence arose naturally in the Minds of all, this Reflection, *That the Time was at length come, when Justice required, that such Part of the Surplus remaining in the Treasury, unapplied, should go to discharge as much of that Debt, which was contracted for the Government, and for which the Nation had long and cheerfully paid Interest, as could be spared, leaving still in the Treasury a Sufficiency, to answer any sudden Demand, or any Deficiency that might be in the Revenue before the next Session.* It may be presumed that there was not, at that time, a Man, who doubted the *Right* or *Power* of the Commons to effect this desirable Act of Justice, as there was not a Hint dropped of that Sort from any Person, whether employed or not employed by the Government. This universal Desire, doubtless, reached the Castle, where the Earl of *Harrington*, Lord Lieutenant, then resided. He, not *instructed*, nor waiting for *Instruction*, but upon the general Knowledge he had of his Majesty's most *gracious Intentions*, to make his Subjects happy, readily concurred in so just, so honourable a Scheme; and his

Concurrence effectually removed all Obstacles, and produced an Uniformity of Opinion. So that the Committee of Ways and Means having reported their Resolutions, and they being confirmed by the House, and the usual Committee having been appointed to prepare Heads of one or more Bill or Bills, upon the Resolutions so agreed to, it was then ordered by the House, without any previous Form;

“ THAT it be an Instruction to the said Committee, to insert a Clause or Clauses in the said Heads of a Bill or Bills, for *applying* so much of the *Ballance*, remaining in the Vice-Treasurer’s Hands at *Lady-day last*, as shall be for that Purpose necessary, to discharge the Sum of seventy thousand Pounds, now remaining due of the old Loan, and carrying an Interest of five Pounds *per Centum per Annum*, as also to *apply* such further Part of the said *Ballance*, as shall be for that Purpose necessary, to pay off and discharge fifty-eight thousand five hundred Pounds, Part of the new Loan of two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, carrying an Interest at the Rate of four Pounds *per Centum per Annum*.”

It must be observed, that all Resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, or Orders conceived in the House, in Consequence of such Resolutions, are ordinarily moved by his Majesty’s Attorney General. And therefore, the Remark made in the *Considerations*, &c. Page 7, That in Fact, “ The King’s Attorney General was the Mover of
“ it

“ it in the House of Commons,” and repeated in the *Observations*, &c. Page 26, had not that Candour in it, that a grave Writer for *Prerogative* should ever stamp on his Works. It is evident, that these Authors have combined, to pick out of all Circumstances *accumulative* Evidence of his Majesty’s *previous Consent*. But *Liberty* must not be wrested from the Subject by Implication more than *Prerogative* from the Crown. And therefore it is material that the Reader should know, that the Attorney General, in moving this Order, conveyed not a *previous Consent* of the Crown, in this Case, if he did not do it in all Articles of Ways and Means; and that every Man will confess he did not.

THE *Considerations*, &c. were well aware, that it would be objected, *that this Matter was transacted in the usual parliamentary Manner*; therefore he lays in this Apology for the King’s Servants; “ That as the Occasion was new, it is not to be “ wondered at, that the Gentlemen who conducted the Affair, on this Side the Water, should “ not be exact as to the Form, in which his Majesty’s *Consent* ought to appear; and probably, “ they apprehended, that the Return of a Bill for “ that Purpose, under the Great Seal of *Great-Britain* would be a sufficient Notification of his Majesty’s *previous Consent* to such Application.”

A STRANGE Defence for his Majesty’s Servants indeed this would be, if *they* accepted of it. But it is refused; and all his *Probabilities* and *Suppositions* are effectually overthrown, by the ablest of his Majesty’s

Majesty's *then* Servants, declaring openly, and avowing, that his Majesty's *previous Consent* never was once in their Thoughts, as a thing necessary in this Case. And surely they declared the Truth; for they really are not Persons of that *diminutive Apprehension*, that they are, in this delicate Apology, represented to be. Certainly they could, if they had any Scruple about the Manner, as well resort to *English* Acts and Votes in 1749, as the Author of the *Considerations* did in 1754; for all the Authorities, which he has favoured us with, preceded that Season.—It is pretty evident, from the subsequent Conduct of those Gentlemen, that it was not for want of Skill or Apprehension the *previous Consent* was not originally inserted; it is more *probable*, and I hope I may advance my *Probability* too, that those learned Gentlemen inserted *gracious Intentions*, because they conceived them to be apt Words to express the Sense of the *Commons*, and not capable of being wrested into any other Meaning than that which they naturally bore.

IN the Heads of the Bill, for Payment of the Debt, were inserted Paragraphs pursuant to the Order, with the following Preamble, *viz.*

“ WHEREAS on the twenty-fifth Day of *March*
 “ last, a considerable *Ballance* remained in the
 “ Hands of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers-Ge-
 “ neral of the Kingdom, or their Deputy or De-
 “ puties, *unapplied*, and it will be for your Ma-
 “ jesty's Service, and for the Ease of your faithful
 “ Subjects of this Kingdom, that so much thereof,
 “ as

“ as can be conveniently spared, should be paid,
 “ agreeably to your Majesty’s most *gracious Inten-*
 “ *tions*, in Discharge of Part of the aforesaid na-
 “ tional Debt.”

“ FROM hence,” say the *Considerations*, “ an or-
 “ dinary Person would certainly have understood;
 “ that his Majesty’s *Intentions*, (*which amount to a*
 “ *Consent*) had been signified *previous* to the Re-
 “ cital, and that his Majesty was allowed thereby
 “ to be Judge of what could be *conveniently spared*.”

IT must indeed be an *ordinary* Capacity, that would take *Intention* for *Consent*. There are not two Words in the Language, that have more different Significations: The Execution of a Man’s *Intention*, being very often dependant on the *Consent* of another.—But this is no place for a critical Examination of Words. It is enough, that the same *Considerations* have given up that Point; or at least, that *those, to whom the Bill, as usual, was referred in Great-Britain*, who I presume were not *ordinary* Persons, did give it up.

FOR, the *Considerations* say, Page 9, “ That as
 “ that Recital, though it *seems strongly to imply* his
 “ Majesty’s *previous Consent*, had not clearly and
 “ explicitly expressed the same, and not having
 “ done so, might occasion future Cavils on that
 “ Head; it is said (and I presume the Fact is
 “ well known to be true) that Objections were
 “ made to this Bill, on that Account, by those *to*
 “ *whom it was, as usual, referred in Great-Britain*.
 “ How

“ How it happened, that his Majesty’s *Consent*
 “ was not by them at that Time inserted, may, I
 “ think, be fairly accounted for; as the Omission
 “ on this Side seemed to have been occasioned
 “ merely by the Novelty of the Case, without any
 “ *Intention* of questioning the King’s Right: And
 “ it was the less necessary to make the Alteration
 “ then; because it was highly probable, the like
 “ *Application* of Part of the Residue of the Money
 “ of the Treasury would be made the next Session;
 “ and then the *Consent* might be originally inserted
 “ in the Bill, which, as might reasonably be sup-
 “ posed, would pass without an Objection.”

IN the preceding Quotation from the *Considera-*
tions, Intention AMOUNTS to *Consent*.—In the last,
Intention doth but IMPLY *Consent*.—I have neither
 Leisure nor Inclination to be what they call merry,
 or this Occasion should not be lost: But the prin-
 cipal Subject I have under Examination is too in-
 teresting, and its Consequences too serious, to ad-
 mit of any jocular Excursions. Let it be observed,
 that this Advocate for the *previous Consent* acknow-
 ledges, that the not inserting it in the Bill of 1749
 was an *Omission*; and that the Bill was objected to
 on the other Side of the Water because it was not
 explicit; but that notwithstanding all this they
 suffered it to return without that Alteration, which
 they acknowledged to be necessary, to express the
previous Consent; and that this is accounted for, by
 supposing, that it was let pass that Time, foreseeing
 there would be soon another Opportunity of inserting it
 originally.

IF I am also at Liberty to *account* for this *Omission*, I must suppose, that the Words were not altered, because they thought they carried in them sufficient Complement ; *previous Consent* from the Crown not being necessary in the Case, and therefore improper to be mentioned in the Bill.

THIS manner of Accounting is certainly better warranted than the other ; for I must be induced to believe, by what hath since happened, that Persons, who have lately proved themselves such vigorous Supporters of what they *fancied* was Prerogative, if they had in 1749, the least doubt about the Matter, would most assuredly have been very explicit ; and would not, in the first Instance, have established, by their own Admission, a Precedent, which they must have expected, would be rather recollected, than forgotten, in a Country where the Prerogative needeth not an additional Strength.

THIS Precedent seems to be so well fixed, and is truly so advantageous to the *Commons* and their Cause, that it must not be wrested from them by chimerical Probabilities and Suppositions, by arbitrary Constructions, or strained Implications: They are in Possession ; and really it is no Season to part with a Possession, merely to try the Equity of Adversary-Writers.

THE next Æra to be mentioned, is the Year 1751, when the Duke of *Dorset* opened a Session of Parliament, with a Speech, wherein, addressing himself

himself to the Commons, he said; “ I am com-
 “ manded by the King to acquaint you, that his
 “ Majesty, ever attentive to the Ease and Happiness
 “ of his Subjects, will graciously *consent*, and re-
 “ commends it to you, that such a Part of the
 “ Money now remaining in his Treasury, as shall
 “ be thought consistent with the Publick Service,
 “ be applied towards the further Reduction of the
 “ national Debt.”

THE Disposition of the *Commons* at this Time should be well considered. Peace and Harmony flourished in the State. The Publick was not yet disturbed by the Intrigues and ambitious Enterprizes of *certain Persons*, whose Obligations, of all Sorts, called upon them to promote Quiet, Industry and Friendship. They had not then, in Violation of those Obligations, openly cherished Discord, and miserably rent the Country into Parties, however their secret Practices might have tended thereto. These fruits of their mischievous Politics have since that Season grown to Maturity.— But at the Time I have mentioned, good Humour was in every Countenance; yet did not the *Commons* forget their Duty to themselves or their Constituents. Therefore, in the Address to the King, which was never exceeded by any, in Loyalty and Respect, they answered that Part of the Speech in the following Words.

“ WE acknowledge with particular Satisfaction
 “ and Thankfulness, your Majesty’s gracious At-
 “ tention to our Ease and Happiness, in *recommending*
 “ *ing*

“ *ing* to us the Application of the Money, now
 “ remaining in the Treasury, so far as it may be
 “ consistent with the Publick Service, towards the
 “ further Reduction of the National Debt.”

WHOEVER is acquainted with Parliamentary Proceedings, knows, that Addressees ordinarily answer the Speech, Paragraph by Paragraph, and express a grateful Sense of every Part, that they mean to shew by their future Acts, an Approbation of : But in Points wherein they cannot concur, they are and ever ought to be silent. The remarkable Silence therefore in this Address, with respect to the CONSENT, and their Applause of the RECOMMENDATION, to apply the *Surplus* in the Treasury, as far as might be consistent with the Publick Service, manifested a Disapprobation of the PREVIOUS CONSENT : And yet it is notorious, that there was not any publick Attempt made, to insert any Words in this Address, *amounting* to, or even *implying* his Majesty's *previous Consent*. Though by this and the Address to the Lord Lieutenant, in the like Stile, it appeared evidently, and was also well known, by all the Servants of the Crown, that the *Commons* industriously avoided to give, by any Expression, a Sanction to that, which indubitably they then thought themselves obliged to oppose ; yet they received as ample Testimony of the Satisfaction they gave the *King* and his *Viceroy*, as they or any House of Commons ever did.

UPON

UPON presenting the Address for the *King*, the *Lord Lieutenant* said,

“ I WILL take the first Opportunity to transmit
“ this DUTIFUL and LOYAL Address to his Ma-
“ jesty.”

AND from the *King*, the *Commons* had the Honour of a most gracious Answer, in the following Words, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

“ HIS Majesty has received, with *great Pleasure*
“ and *Satisfaction*, the affectionate Address of the
“ House of Commons; and they may be assured
“ of his Majesty’s constant Endeavours to promote
“ the Welfare of his Subjects in his Kingdom of
“ *Ireland*.

“ HIS Majesty is *fully* persuaded of their *Duty*
“ and *Zeal* to his Person, and has the firmest Re-
“ liance, on their future Support of his Govern-
“ ment and Family.”

FROM all this every candid Reader will observe, that the *Commons*, in the first Instance, refused their Approbation of the *previous Consent*; that the Opposition to it did not commence from *Party-Rage*, but from a laudable Jealousy for their Rights; and that no Resentment attended this Procedure.

WHEN

WHEN the Publick Accounts were laid before the House, it appeared, that there was in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers, at *Lady-day* 1751, a Sum of two hundred, forty-eight thousand, three hundred and sixty-six Pounds, seventeen Shillings and four Pence.

THIS being the happy Situation of the Nation, in Point of Revenue, it was thought reasonable, again to apply Part of the *Surplus*, toward discharging the Debt; and it was in the like manner ordered,

“ THAT it be an Instruction to the Committee,
 “ appointed to bring in Heads of one or more Bill
 “ or Bills, upon the Resolutions of the Committee
 “ for Ways and Means, to insert a Clause or
 “ Clauses in the said Heads of a Bill or Bills, for
 “ applying so much of the Ballance, remaining in
 “ the Vice-Treasurer’s Hands at *Lady-day* last, as
 “ shall be for that Purpose necessary, to pay off,
 “ and discharge the Sum of one hundred and twenty
 “ thousand Pounds, Part of the Sum of two hundred,
 “ thirty-seven thousand, five hundred Pounds,
 “ now remaining due, of the several Sums heretofore
 “ borrowed by the Publick, at Interest.”

PURSUANT to this Order, the appointed Sum was applied, by Heads of a Bill, for the Payment of the principal Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, in discharge of so much of the national Debt, &c. with the following Preamble, viz:

B

“ WHEREAS

“ WHEREAS on the 25th of *March* last, a considerable Ballance remained in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers General of this Kingdom, or their Deputy or Deputies, and your Majesty, ever attentive to the Ease and Happiness of your faithful Subjects has been graciously pleased to *recommend* it to us, that such Part thereof as shall be thought consistent with the Publick Service, be applied towards the farther Reduction of the National Debt.”

THE Publick need not to be informed, that no Attempt was made to insert, in this Preamble, any Words *amounting* to, or even *implying*, a previous Consent. On the contrary, it was said, that some of the *principal* Persons, more especially obliged to guard and defend the *Prerogative*, *confessed* that they were *convinced*, that such a *Consent* was not *Constitutional*; and added that they had also *convinced other very material Personages* on this and the other Side of the Water, and brought them to be of the same Opinion. What else could be the Cause for not endeavouring, after the solemn manner of bringing *Consent* upon the Stage, to support it throughout, and first to press the inserting it *originally* in the Heads of the Bill? This the *Considerations* have told us, was *probably* the Scheme; and in that Case, I may say, that *probably* the Authors of the Scheme would have proceeded, but that they were convinced, the Cause was bad and insupportable.

THE

THE Bill was certainly transmitted to *Great-Britain* as it went from the *Commons*, but returned altered, by having the Words inserted, that signified the *Previous Consent*.

GREAT were the seeming Concern and Amazement of *certain* Persons upon this Change, which was made without their Privity. And who could doubt their Sincerity? Every Body's Consideration was now employed, how to get through this Knotty Affair, with a saving for the Honour of the *Commons*; who were at this time engaged in an Enquiry, wherein the Interest of the Crown, the Honour of Parliament, the Well-being of the Army and publick Credit were all deeply engaged. Some thought, that it could not hurt, if this were let pass, as the Publick was in Possession of the first Precedent; and that it would be too much, to take this with the other weighty Affair upon their Shoulders at once; that probably, artful Men who were upon the Lurch, might hence blow up a Flame, that might produce an Embarrassment, which *some Folk* heartily wished for in the principal Matter, for such the enquiry was then thought to be; and that, from the Consternation that sat upon *certain* Countenances, it might be trusted that it would never be repeated. This Opinion prevailed, and great Care was taken, that the ordinary Committee should not be moved for, to enquire into Alterations made in Heads of Bills sent from the House; vainly imagining, that the Alteration not appearing in the usual parliamentary Method, upon the Face

of the Journal, would not be another Day trumped up, to serve a purpose. Expedients in Politicks are dangerous Things; as they induce a suspicion of Weakness, and are oftener attended by Loss than by any Advantage. A good Cause should ever be supported by vigorous Measures; leave a bad one to its Shifts, for by Tricks only it can subsist at all.

THUS was that Precedent established, which has been made so notable an Use of since. Happy was it for the Nation, that it was not the first, or Effects might have followed it, that People did not foresee.

THE same Lord Lieutenant opened the Session in 1753, with a Speech, wherein, addressing himself to the *Commons*, he said, "I am commanded
" by his Majesty to acquaint you, that he will graciously *consent*, and *recommends* it to you, that so
" much of the Money remaining in his Treasury
" as shall be necessary, be applied to the Discharge
" of the National Debt, or of such Part thereof,
" as you shall think expedient."

THE *Commons* answered this Speech by an Address to the *King*, with all the *Respect* and *Duty*, becoming the most *faithful* Subjects, to the *Father of his People*: But, as in the former Instance, they refrained to take any Notice of the *CONSENT*, but made all proper acknowledgment for the *RECOMMENDATION*. This again was denominated by the Lord Lieutenant a *DUTIFUL* and *LOYAL* Address, and
for

for it they had a most gracious Answer from the King.

By the usual publick Accounts, it appeared, that there was in the Treasury, at *Lady-day* 1753, the Sum of three hundred, and fifteen thousand, eight hundred, twenty and two Pounds, thirteen Shillings and ten Pence; and it appeared by another Account called for, that the Ballance had considerably increased between *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas*.

HEREUPON an Order was conceived in the old Manner, to six Gentlemen appointed to be the Committee, to bring in Heads of one or more Bill or Bills, upon the Resolutions of Ways and Means, *to apply seventy-seven thousand, five hundred Pounds, to discharge the remaining Part of the Debt.*

It is no Secret, that three of those Gentlemen resolutely refused, to insert any Words, in the Heads of the Bill for paying the Debt, that should signify a *previous Consent* from the Crown; and for that Offence, two of them have unhappily felt a Resentment, which they never intended to provoke; being, without Question, as loyal Subjects, as they were able Servants.

THERE being thus an equal Division in the Committee, the Heads of the Bill were brought in by the Master of the Rolls, with this Preamble only;
 “Whereas on the 25th Day of *March* last

“ a considerable Ballance remained in the Hands
 “ of the Vice-Treasurers or Receivers General of
 “ this Kingdom, or their Deputy or Deputies.”

THE *Considerations* need not to have been under such a Difficulty, as they pretend, Page 15, to find out, “ How, or on what Motives, the Recital of *Consent* was totally left out of the Heads “ of the Bill, when brought into Parliament.” A Recollection of the publick Transactions herein related, would have supplied them with sufficient Reasons, for leaving out the Recital of *Consent*. Beside, it was very well known by all, except the Author of the *Considerations*, that the *Represented* had every where expressed a great Dissatisfaction and Uneasiness, at the Passiveness of their *Representatives* upon that Occasion in the last Session: And indeed, the *Vox Populi* hath ever met with Respect, but from those who neither have it, nor expect to have it with them; and they truly always affect to ridicule it!

MOST People expected, that an Attempt would have been made, when these Heads of a Bill were committed, to insert the Recital of the *Consent*; but the *Appearance* on that Day was not *encouraging*, and therefore, it is believed, that it was thought prudent not to stir in that Matter. Whatever was the Cause, it is certain, that they passed through all the usual Forms, without Interruption, and were transmitted to *Great-Britain*, as they left the House; but returned from thence in Shape of a Bill,

Bill, with the following Words inserted in the Preamble,

“ And your Majesty, ever attentive to the Ease
 “ and Happiness of your faithful Subjects, has
 “ been graciously pleased to signify, that you
 “ would *consent*, and to *recommend* it to us, that so
 “ much of the Money remaining in your Majesty’s
 “ Treasury, as should be necessary, be *applied* to
 “ the Discharge of the national Debt, or such Part
 “ thereof, as should be thought expedient by Par-
 “ liament.”

THIS Alteration was accompanied by a Letter from the *Privy-Council of Great-Britain* to the *Privy-Council of Ireland*, setting forth, “ That *their Letter*
 “ to the Secretary of State *took Notice*, that the
 “ Words inserted in the Bill, passed last Session, for
 “ Payment of Part of the National Debt, relating
 “ to his Majesty’s *previous Consent*, are omitted in
 “ the Bill now transmitted. But that Words of
 “ the like Import were inserted in the present Bill,
 “ for Support of the Prerogative and Dignity of the
 “ Crown, and for preserving the Regularity of Pro-
 “ ceedings in the Parliament of Ireland.”

THIS Letter quickly crept Abroad, and was in every Body’s Hand; and the Bill was in a convenient Time carried into the House. There it cannot be denied, but that it was treated with as much Respect as any disputed Bill ever was. It was read twice and committed, and in the Committee was thoroughly debated, and in it’s whole

Course never received the least Affront. Upon the Report it was indeed *rejected*: But that is the usual Fate of Bills not agreed to in Part. For by *Poyning's Law*, when they return from *Great-Britain*, there remains but a Negative in either House of Parliament, and consequently all must be taken or none. And therefore, when any Part is disagreed to, the whole is rejected, for the Sake of preserving as much Dignity in Parliamentary Proceedings, as the Constitution will admit of.

I HAVE thus related the History of this famous Bill, and, I hope, impartially; it now remains, that I assign the Reasons for rejecting a Bill, which was, and is insisted upon, by it's Favourers, *to be agreeable to the known Prerogative of the Crown, and conformable to the usual Proceedings of Parliament*; but is utterly denied by those against the Bill, to be CONSTITUTIONAL in either Respect.

THOSE for the Bill have introduced the History of the *Hereditary-Revenue* into this Controversy, and have thereby perplexed the Question so much, that Men of excellent Understandings know not what Opinion to form about it. It is not wonderful that it should so happen, when a simple Question, subject to every Man's Reason, is puzzled into a knotty Point of Law. This Satisfaction however the Publick hath, that the Advocates for the Bill are forced to advance endless Absurdities, to support their Cause; by which one would in Charity rather suppose, that they had perplexed themselves too, as well

well as many of their Readers, than that they had designedly led People into a Labyrinth.

WHATEVER may be my private Opinion in this Matter, I judge, that if I do not enter into an Examination of the Nature of the *Hereditary-Revenue*; and enquire into the Extent of the Royal Power over it, it will be taken by others as an Admission, that the Law is clear for the *previous Consent*; and as I do not in any Sort intend this Compliment to the Adversaries, I must comply with the Fashion. The *Hereditary Revenue* then, by common Law, consists in *Crown-Rents*, *Composition-Rents*, *Casual-Revenue*, &c. This Branch of the Revenue is computed to amount to Seventeen Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; a very small Part of four hundred, forty-four Thousand, six hundred and eighty-two Pounds, the nett Produce of all the *Hereditary Revenue*, in the Year ending the 25th of *March* 1753.

THE *Hereditary Revenue* by Statute Law, is composed of *Quit-Rents*, *Excise*, *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, *Hearth-money*, *Wine* and *Strong-Water Licences*.

“ *Quit-Rents* are an accrueable Charge reserved
“ to the Crown by the Acts of Settlement and
“ Explanation.” 14 and 15 *Cb.* 2.

THE *Excise* was granted, “ For and towards
“ the constant Pay of the Army, and Forces, and
“ for defraying other publick Charges in the De-
“ fence and Preservation of His Majesty’s Realm.”
14 and 15 *Cb.* 2.

Tonnage

Tonnage and Poundage were in Part granted by a Statute in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*.—The new *Tonnage and Poundage* were granted 14, 15. *Ch. 2*, “ For the better guarding and defending “ the Seas against all Persons intending, or that “ may intend the Disturbance of the Intercourse “ of the Trade of this Realm, and for the better “ defraying the necessary Expences thereof, and “ for Increase and Augmentation of His Majesty’s “ Revenue.”

Hearth-money was granted, 14 and 15 *Ch. 2* in lieu of the Profits of the Court of Wards, &c. with this remarkable Preamble, expressing the Consideration of the Grant, “ Forasmuch as nothing conduceth more “ to the Peace and Prosperity of a Kingdom, and “ the Protection of every single Person therein “ than that the PUBLICK REVENUE THEREOF “ may be in some Measure proportioned to the “ publick Charges and Expences ; in Consideration “ thereof, &c.”

ALE, and *Beer Licences* were granted, 14, 15. *Ch. 2*. *Wine and Strong Water Licences* 17, 18. *Ch. 2*. and were granted partly to prevent Disorders in the Country ; but chiefly the better to secure the Payment of the *Inland Excise* ; and therefore may be properly called Branches of the *Excise*.

THESE several Branches of Revenue, *Hearth-money* excepted, were not made a Perpetuity, without much murmuring and Struggle ; as may be fairly gathered by a Message delivered from the
Lords

Lords Justices to the House of Commons on the 25th of June 1662, by Sir Paul Davis, Principal Secretary of State, importing, " That there were
 " yet some Acts before the House, that concerned
 " his Majesty's Revenue, which they desired might
 " be taken into speedy Consideration, for the better defraying the *Charge of the Army* and other
 " important Occasions ; and the rather, for that
 " they conceived it a Duty incumbent upon
 " them to his Majesty, to suspend giving the *Royal Assent unto the great Bill of Settlement, until it*
 " *should be accompanied with those other Bills of the*
 " *Revenue.*"

THIS was seemingly a harsh Message, but had it's Effect, by quickening the House. The Lords Justices acted honourably to both Parties ; for they knew this Revenue was the stipulated Price of the Act of Settlement, and that their Instructions were positive, not to pass the one without the other : This Message therefore in this Light was *Paternal* ; because it signified the Danger, and kindly pointed out the Method to prevent it.

AND nothing could have prevailed upon them to comply, but Necessity. The *Hereditary Revenue*, or a blind Submission of all their Property to the absolute Will of the King, or a Civil War were before them : And wisely they chose the least Evil.

IN the Conduct of this whole Affair, that eminent and excellent Patriot ROGER BOYLE, Earl of Orrery, GRANDFATHER to the present SPEAKER
 of

of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, was principally concerned. His Head, Heart and Hand, all remarkably good, were ever engaged in the Service of the *English* Interest in *Ireland*. To his wife Management we chiefly owe the obtaining so good a Settlement for this Country; and a good Settlement it was indeed, considering the powerful Rivals the Protestants had in the Favour of the King, to whose Mercy all Things in this Kingdom were unhappily left. To Him also was owing the cautious Terms, in which those Revenue Laws were drawn; Terms, which at this Day intangle and confound the Advocates for the *Previous Consent*.

Special Appropriations were not the Practice of those Day, in *England* or *Ireland*. General Words in Laws importing, That the Revenue was granted to the King, in Trust for publick Services, were deemed sufficient: And that the Words made use of in the Acts of Excise, Tonnage and Poundage were relied upon as sufficient for that Purpose, they being not created in lieu of any other Revenue of the Crown, (as the *Considerations*, Page 26, 27, intimate, without the least Shadow of Reason) may appear from the wise and cautious Form of, and Provisions in, the *Heartb-money Act*, which was substituted in Place of another Branch of the Revenue.

Wardships, in lieu of which *Heartb-money* was granted, were ever looked upon to be more an Estate at the King's Will, than any other. Therefore,

fore, a rich Wardship was sure to be the Prey of some Court-Beggar. This Estate, from the Profuse and wanton Management thereof, produced little to the Crown, and brought great Calamities upon private Families, by the Tyranny and Oppression of those to whom these *Wardships* were bestowed; who knew they got them, to turn them to the best Account for themselves. This raised great Clamour, and a strong Inclination in all People, to get rid of this Grievance at any Rate: And so the Rich threw the Burthen from themselves upon the Poor; and hence grew the Tax of *Hearth-money*. But none other would content the Court: For it was foreseen, that it would be surest and easiest collected, and that it would infallibly increase, as the Nation grew in Circumstances.

THE Patriots at Court, of whom ROGER, Earl of *Orrery*, was Chief, foresaw, that if this new Revenue was expressly created in Lieu of another, over which the King had indeed exercised a despotic Power, without any Words of Restraint; that a Pretence would be derived from thence, to make as arbitrary an Use of the New, as He did of the old Revenue. And therefore was that significant Preamble fixed to it, which I must here again insert, and wish I could properly place it at the Top of every Page in this my Work, that the Reader might never lose Sight of it.

“ FORASMUCH as nothing conduceth more to
 “ the Peace and Prosperity of a Kingdom, and the
 “ Protection

“ Protection of every single Person therein, than
 “ that the PUBLICK REVENUE THEREOF may be
 “ in some Measure proportioned to the publick
 “ Charges and Expences; IN CONSIDERATION
 “ THEREOF, &c.

IT might have been thought, that this would have been sufficient Security to the Nation; and that such an Express, strong Declaration of the Right of the PUBLICK to the REVENUE, could not have been explained away, even by the *Author* or *Authors* of the *Considerations*, if he or they had been then Inhabitants of this Island. But those Patriots (and sure the Age was happy, in which they ruled at Court,) to remove every Pretence for Misapplication, nay, to furnish the Crown with a legal Excuse for not complying with the importunate Solicitations of ravenous Courtiers, further inserted an Injunction, “ That this Revenue shall not be particularly charged or chargeable, either before it
 “ be paid into the Exchequer, or after, with any
 “ Gifts, Grants or Pensions whatsoever: And that
 “ all and every Grant of any such Pensions, and
 “ all and every Clause of *non obstantes* therein contained, shall be, and is hereafter declared to be,
 “ utterly void, and all and every the Persons to
 “ whom such Grants are, or shall be passed, shall
 “ be, and are hereby, made Accomptants unto his
 “ Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and shall pay
 “ back all Sums of Money received by Pretence
 “ of such Grant; and the Court of Exchequer is
 “ hereby enjoined to issue out Process accordingly.”

NOR

NOR would they rest here; they suspected that Parliaments might not be called: Who would then censure a Breach of the Law? Alas! In those Days, *Prerogative* every where received Protection: And was so uncertain in it's Description that passive Obedience was the only Security the Subject had. This we can learn at this Distance of Time from Books only; they had, doubtless, from Knowledge, a much stronger Impression of those Facts.

THEY therefore resolved to engage others, by Interest, to give the Law Motion, and to that Purpose inserted a Clause, enacting, " That if any
 " Person or Persons, Bodies politick or corporate,
 " shall at any Time hereafter procure, or accept of,
 " from the King's Majesty, his Heirs or Successors,
 " any Pension, Gift or Grant for Years, Life, or
 " any other Estate, or any Sum or Sums of Money,
 " of the Revenue arising by Virtue of this
 " Act, that then such Person or Bodies politick or
 " corporate, procuring or accepting the same, shall
 " forfeit double the Value of such Pension, Gift or
 " Grant, the one Moiety of which Forfeiture shall
 " be to the Use of the Parish or Parishes where the
 " said Offenders be or inhabit, to be recovered by
 " the Church-Wardens, the other Moiety to him
 " that will sue for the same, by Action of Bill,
 " Plaint or Information.

THERE

THERE was now but one Branch of the Statute-Revenue left, which was not attended by an exprefs Declaration of the Trust for which it was granted, viz. *Quit-Rents*. An Occasion happened soon after the Revolution to do that alfo. For King *William* had been taught by his Minifters, that he had a Power over all the Forfeitures in *Ireland*, and was prevailed upon, by them, to whose Opinion he fubmitted, to execute his Power, by granting them away. But the Parliament of *England*, 11. *Will.* 3, refumed thofe Grants; and left the fame pernicious Advice might one Day prevail in the Cafe of *Quit-Rents*, which flood in lieu of Forfeitures, and of Courfe fubject to the like Power, enacted
 “ That all *Quit-Rents*, as alfo *Crown-Rents* and
 “ *Chiefries*, belonging to the Crown of *Ireland*,
 “ *fhall forever be for the Support of the Government*
 “ of *Ireland*, and *fhall be unalienable*.

THE Parliament which granted this Hereditary Revenue was kept on Foot, till it had compleated every Thing that was neceffary, for explaining and confirming the new Settlement, and for fecuring the Revenue; and then, in 1666, was diffolved.

THE Confidence placed in the Crown, by granting a perpetual Revenue, was shamefully abused; for during the reft of *Charles*’s, and throughout all his Brother *James*’s Reign, a Parliament was not held in *Ireland*.

THE

THE great and sensible Effect of the *Revolution*, was the Restoration of Parliament; for this alone could provide effectual Means to secure Religion, Liberty and Property; which in the latter Days of *Charles* were Names only; but in the Reign of *James* had not even Names left.

WHAT the *Observations* tell us, Page 7, of the Distresses of *Ireland* by the long Disuse of Parliaments is undoubtedly true. "The Inhabitants were oppressed; Industry, Arts and Sciences were neglected; even the *Publick Revenue* was mismanaged: And, in short, every Thing was wretched for want of Parliaments." Surely, no good Man could wish that this Nation should return to so woeful a Condition. He certainly would be a most bitter Enemy both to the King and his Subjects, who would advise for desperate a Measure. And yet (unwittingly, I hope) this Author gives broad Hints against this Country, Page 18, where he says, "The gross Produce of the old additional, unappropriated Duties, without including the six Pence a Pound payable to the Vice-Treasurers, was, at a Medium for twelve Years, ended at *Lady-Day* 1753, 149,865 *l.* a Year; and this, with many Deductions thereout, for Parliamentary Grants, &c. is all the Nation pays for having the Benefit of frequent Parliaments."

It is a bad Compliment to his Majesty to say, that the Nation pays for Parliaments; when it is notorious, that the Nation has a Right to frequent

C

Parliaments;

Parliaments; and his Majesty has most eminently distinguished Himself in protecting the Rights of all his Subjects. Beside, it is by his own Confession, as necessary for the Crown as for the Subject, to hold frequent Parliaments; since the Miseries of the Kingdom, to be incurred by want of Parliaments, must diminish the Revenue of the Crown, as well as the Property of every Individual.

THE Parliament hath not hitherto shewed any Disposition, to refuse the Crown what Aid was required from them; and if the Sum they mention appears diminutive in their Eyes, it must be for want of being sufficiently informed of the Condition of the Country, and the Demands of the Crown; for then they would know, that it is all that is asked, and full enough for a Kingdom to pay, that is almost undone by Luxury, out of which that Revenue arises.

I MUST be indulged, in thus making Digressions with my Adversaries, otherwise some dangerous Doctrines, which they now and then slide in, would pass upon the Readers as invincible.

INCREASE of Charge growing upon the Government quickly after the Revolution, and the Hereditary Revenue becoming too narrow to support it, necessitated the Crown to demand Parliamentary Supplies. And these being granted, as often as asked, in general Terms, *for Support of the Government,*

ment, make, with the Hereditary Revenue, that Fund by which the Expence of all Publick Services is defrayed.

THE Reader having now before him a minute Recital of all Particulars necessary to precede the Discussion of the main Question, I shall enter into the Reasons, that are given in Justification of the rejecting of the Money-Bill on the 17th of December, 1753. By the Name of *Money-Bill* I must call it (notwithstanding both my Antagonists dislike it) if I mean to speak properly; as it directs the Application of Money, and contains nothing in it beside.

THE *Observations* have (I cannot think with a good Design) said, in Page 34, that, " One Argument employed for rejecting the Bill, was raised on the Pretence of the *sole Right* of having *Money-Bills* take their Rise in the House of Commons, and that no Alteration should be made in those Bills after they are prepared by the House." And he has employed himself from the Beginning of the 8th Page, to the End of the 15th, in combating this Objection; and has brought upon the Stage the Votes of 1692 in Favour of *Sole-Right*, and Lord Sidney's famous Protest, and directly charged the Majority of that Day, with an open Invasion of *Poyning's Law*. This *Misrepresentation* has, by all Accounts that have been received from *Great-Britain*, created many Enemies to us, who from their Love of Liberty, and their Zeal to preserve all the just Rights

of the *Commons*, would certainly have declared on our Side, if they knew that all this Author hath said was Fiction; and that the real Struggle of the *Commons* was, *to preserve the Regularity of Proceedings in Parliament.*

THE *Considerations* indeed have been kind enough to say, Page 20, "Some indeed have imagined that the Recital's having been inserted in *Great-Britain*, was the Reason of rejecting the Bill: But I do not suppose it could be so." Why then hath he taken up so much of a short Pamphlet to shew his Learning upon a Question not there disputed? Would it not have been more ingenuous, to have said—— *It was not so*: Thus generously writing in Favour of Adversaries in a Pamphlet, which the Author knew was to visit every Hole and Corner in the three Kingdoms, would have cast such a Light of Candour on the Whole, as would have gained it a Credit, not to be procured by any *Pass*.

SURE I am, that the only Argument I have met with, for seven Years, in Behalf of the *Sole-Right*, is in the *Considerations*, Page 33, "*The Right* of granting Money is admitted to be in the *Commons*." I suppose he cannot, with all his Art, persuade the World, that there is any material Difference between *Sole-Right* and *the Right*.

It is essential to this Kingdom, that it should be well known, where only it can be hurt, and from whence all Benefits must be derived, that we are
not

not the *mad* People, our Enemies describe us to be ; but it will be enough in this Place, in order to overthrow the malicious Purpose of the *Observations*, to add, as the *Considerations* authorize me, Page 22, *That the Bill was rejected, for Objections raised to the Substance of the Alteration, and according to its Merits, as it was conceived, the Commons had a Right to do, upon an Apprehension that their Negative was not yet taken from them.*

FOR it was often and directly said, that the only Cause of opposing the Preamble, which determined the Fate of the Bill, was, because the Words signifying his Majesty's* previous Consent were therein ; which Words were looked upon to be intended to establish a Right in the Crown, of such a Nature, as would forbid the Commons to intermeddle in any Surplus, that was now or hereafter might be, in the Treasury, unapplied, without his Majesty's Consent being first signified : That they knew not that the Crown had such a Right : That the Power of the Crown over the hereditary Revenue was to apply it to publick Services within the Kingdom : That the additional Duties were granted, not upon Estimates, but upon fixed Establishments, and only to make up the Deficiency of the Revenue : That the Surplus, whatever it was, or might be, must proceed from the additional Duties, because the hereditary Revenue must be all expended, before that given in Aid could be applied ; and whether it arose from its producing

more than it was given for, or from a Saving, by the Establishment not being kept full, as it was, or was designed to be, when the Provision was made, it was all the same; the Surplus must belong to the Publick, and be consequently subject to the Disposition of Parliament: That in this Case, particularly, it was due to the Nation, that had made a separate Provision to pay the Interest of the Debt, when it lay a heavy Clog upon Government, that it should be reimbursed out of a Surplus grown upon the Aggregate Fund, which must have borne the whole Debt, if the Nation had not created a Fund for it: That the Crown had ever thus considered the Case; for it is certain, that Credit was ever given to the Nation for Surplusses, even in this Session; and that all former Surplusses, as well as the present, have been carried forward in the Estimates for Supply, and have been applied to the current Service of the Interval between Sessions; and what makes this Argument of still greater Weight is, that it is known by every Body, that these Accounts and Estimates are all prepared by the King's Servants: That therefore departing from the *constant Method of Proceeding in Parliament* would be a betraying of their Constituents, and an unpardonable Offence: That they should always pay equal Regard to the Prerogative of the Crown, and to the Liberty of the Subject; but must ever guard against the Establishment of a new Prerogative; and therefore disagreed to the Preamble.

AND

AND all this was illustrated by Facts related, and Precedents quoted, and not controverted.

WAS not this an honourable and wise Procedure upon the Merits alone? Hath this the Face of Anger or Party? Doth it carry the least Appearance of Opposition to the Crown? Doth it not put the Question fairly upon the Test of Reason and Usage? And if that Reason and that Usage rise up in Judgment against the Bill, what Recompence can be made to those injured Persons, who have suffered in Reputation, by an Imputation of Disrespect to Majesty, or perhaps by a Suspicion of Disloyalty?

AND by Reason and Usage they shall be tried, in Opposition to verbal and Pamphlet-Argument.

THE principal Argument of the Advocates for the Bill is, That by granting the Revenue in general Terms, and not with *special Application*, the King is made sole Judge of the *Application*, and hath such an Estate in the Surplus, that the Commons cannot meddle with it without his previous Consent. To inforce this, one said "He had a
 " mixed Estate; for he had by Common Law, five
 " or six thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and tho' but
 " five Pounds of this loose Estate were mixed with
 " four hundred thousand Pounds of the Statute Estate, no Part could be laid Hands upon by the
 " Commons, because every Part was affected by the
 " five Pounds." This must be submitted to the Consideration of common Lawyers; for it doth not

favour much of Equity. And 'hereafter, it will appear clearly, that even this Estate is as limited as any other.

ANOTHER said, " That the Title of the Crown
" was as that of a Partner."

If that be true, Partnership implies an Equality. An uncommon State of Partnership it would be, where one Partner had not a Right, to propose the *Application* of any Part of the Stock, to the Use of the Partnership, without first having the *Consent* of another Partner to make the Proposal.

A THIRD said, " That the whole Revenue was
" the absolute, uncontrollable Property of the
" Crown, to do with it as it would, and that no-
" thing could limit it; which he proved from a ve-
" ry antient Maxim, viz. *Nullum tempus occurrit*
" *Regi.*"

THIS Sentiment was strenuously recommended by a fourth, with a positive Assurance, *That the best Lawyers in England and Ireland were of that Opinion.*

BUT a fifth, not relying upon any of the former Titles, very fortunately hit upon a Medium, that hath brought this Matter to an Issue: For he asserted, that there was a *Royal Trust* in the Crown. This Opinion after much canvassing was adopted by the Party, and by their Order, I suppose, hath
been

been since promulgated in the *Considerations*, Page 22, as the Title they rest their Cause upon, in these Words ;

“ THAT the Trust of applying the Money
 “ given by Parliament to the Crown, without any
 “ special *Appropriation*, is, by the Laws and Con-
 “ stitution of this Kingdom, vested in the Crown
 “ for *PUBLICK Services*.

It is very surprizing, that Contention about this Matter should longer subsist, when both Sides agree in Principles ; for a *private* Interest cannot by the greatest Art be extracted out of a *publick* Trust ; and consequently a *private* Wrong cannot grow, by the *publick* controuling the Trust, which was of its own Creation, and for its own Use.

THIS seems to be undeniable. The Conclusion then drawn from the above Premisses, “ That, “ when an Application shall be proposed by any “ Power, the Consent of the Crown must be pre- “ vious thereto,” is absurd.

BECAUSE the Crown hath but a Trust for the publick Service.

THIS appeared to me so clearly, that I thought it idle, to bring the *Hereditary Revenue*, that was with so much Prudence and Foresight secured for the *publick Service*, into the Controversy, as a Matter that could, from any private Interest in the
 Crown,

Crown, make a Difference advantageous to the *Previous Consent*.

BUT indeed the Author of the *Considerations* has been extremely unlucky, in accommodating his Adversaries with Arguments against his Cause, and in throwing them into a Course of Reasoning from his Premisses and Proofs, that must end in his Overthrow.

THUS, Page 40, he saith, “ The principal Objection is, that the Produce of these several Funds, is accounted for to Parliament ; and from thence it has been inferred, that it is Publick Money, subject to Parliamentary Application, without other *Consent*, than what is given by the Royal Assent to the Bill, when passed into a Law. This seems founded on a Mistake, as to the Reason, and Manner, of laying the Publick Accounts before the House of *Commons*, as will appear from a short History of this Usage, and an Account of the Effects of it.”

THAT which is denominated by him, to be a principal Objection is most certainly a strong Argument against the Necessity of a *Previous Consent*, and of Course an Objection to his Doctrine ; but I cannot admit it to stand in the first Place. The Principal Argument drawn from Law and Reason is undoubtedly the Power of the Crown over the Revenue *being but a Trust for Publick Service*, and stands the foremost Objection to his Conclusion. The Second will be taken from the Law and Usage
of

of Parliament; and this which he calls Principal is a Branch of that Usage, but shall be examined distinctly in this Place since he lays so great Stress upon it; and if it shall happen by his *short History*, and his *Account of the Effects* of it, to be rather confirmed, than shaken, I hope the Reader will allow me the full Force of it.

IN Expectation of this Piece of Justice, I shall attend the *Considerations*, Step by Step, in this Argument, and try the Value and Weight of his Proofs.

It was not indeed wise, to set out with so disingenuous an Assertion as the following, Page 41.
 “ No Account of the Disposition of the *King's Revenue* in this Kingdom, was laid before Parliament, till the Year one thousand six hundred and ninety-two, when the Crown wanted further Supplies.”

WOULD not any Man, a Stranger to the History of this Country, conclude from hence, that there had been frequent Opportunities, of laying the Account of the *King's Revenue* before Parliament? Yet it is certain, that from the compleat fixing and establishing of the Statute-Hereditary-Revenue, viz. from 1666, to the Year 1692, containing a Course of 26 Years, there was not a Parliament in *Ireland*. And for this Reason alone, we may safely conclude, that the Account of the *King's Revenue* was not laid before Parliament; for on the first Opportunity, the *Commons* called for it, and had it.

THE *Considerations* proceed thus : “ Then indeed, a Motion was made, that such Accounts might be brought in : But the Reason of the Motion appears on the Journal, *viz. That it might be the better known what Supplies were necessary to be given to their Majesties.* So that they were not called for as a *Right*, but desired as a *Direction* for their Discretion in the Grants they were making.”

THIS is a Misrepresentation from Beginning to End. If the Precedent he makes use of were sufficient to strip the *Commons* of a *necessary Right*, it was not made at a Time that a candid Man would chuse to take a Precedent from. For, by the long Disuse of Parliaments, all were then so ignorant in the Forms, that when the Act of Recognition came from the Lords, and was passed the third Day of the Session, a Committee was appointed, “ To find out by Precedents, whether it should be returned to the Lords.” And on the same Day another Committee was appointed, “ To know how the Committee of Grievances should come at Records, *Accounts* and Papers in the Hands of Officers of the Revenue or others.” And this was done, though the Journal of the preceding Parliament abounded with Instances of *Powers granted to Committees, to send for Persons, Papers and Records* : So that probably there was not in the House a Man, who had ever perused the Journal. But surely there is very bad Logick in this Assertion. A Motion was made that certain Accounts should be brought in, *that it might be the better known*

known what Supplies were necessary to be given to their Majesties. Therefore they were not called for as a *Right*, but desired as a *Direction* for their Discretion in the Grants they were making. And pray, had they not a *Right* to call for that, which was to direct their Discretion? But indeed the Author of these *Considerations* did not attend carefully to this Precedent, or did not apprehend the Import of it, for if he had, he would have found therein a strong Assertion of the *Right* of the Commons to call for Accounts.

It must be observed in the first Place, that the Reason for the Motion is given to the House, not intended for an Apology to any other Body.

THEN it appears, that the Secretary being present took hold of the Opportunity, and informed the House, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, had put the Papers into his Hands, to be laid before the House: But the House did not accept of them in that manner, and thereupon conceived this Order:

“ ORDERED, That the State of the Revenue of
“ the Nation, and the Establishment, both Civil and
“ Military, be brought into the House the morrow
“ Morning.”

AND the morrow Morning they were brought in. Was this calling for a *Right*, or desiring a *Direction*?

THE

THE Occasion of the Reason for the Motion being inserted, appears evidently to proceed from that Resentment which the House shewed throughout the Session, upon Account of the Indignity they thought had been put upon them, in the Lord Lieutenant's Speech. For by his Speech, they were given plainly to understand, that neither the *Quantum* of the *Supply*, nor the *Means* of raising it, were left to their Consideration. And accordingly, two Money-Bills did afterwards make their Appearance in the House; one of which passed, and the other was thrown out. But surely from this Account of the Matter, it is evident, why those Words, "That it may be the *better* known what Supplies are necessary to be given to their Majesties," were inserted, and that it could mean nothing more, than that they would have other Evidence of what Supplies were necessary, than the Bills, that they knew were provided for them. I must confess that House of Commons were too fond of entering their Reasons of Action upon their Journal. They did not indeed want Spirit, but they wanted Prudence, in expressly setting down the Cause of exercising their *Negative*, which it was their Right by the Constitution to exercise; and therefore entering their Reasons could do them no Service, and certainly gave great Advantage to their Adversaries. But unhappily for this Enemy to the Rights of the Commons, the House did that very Session call for Accounts relating to forfeited Goods, and did on the 20th of *October* appoint a Committee to examine those very Accounts; which

cannot

cannot fail to strike every Body with two Observations :

FIRST, that these were not called for, *The BETTER to know what Supplies should be granted to their Majesties.*

SECONDLY, that these were particularly Accounts relative to *forfeited Goods*; (which have been called, in and out of Parliament, by all the Friends to the *Previous Consent*, his Majesty's *private Estate*;) but were yet called for by the *Commons*, in their own *Right*, and that at a Time, when they knew there was a Commission from his Majesty, to make the same Enquiry out of Parliament; and that the Committee did make a Report; but its being made the last Day of the Session, was the Cause that nothing farther was done thereon.

IN the next Place, the *Considerations* assert, "That
" for the same Reason, the Publick Accounts have
" been, every Session since, brought into Parlia-
" ment: So that, in Truth, were not Supplies de-
" manded, such Accounts would not have been
" tendered."

THE last Part of this is merely conjectural; because, there has not been a Parliament, wherein Supplies were not desired, and the Accounts laid before the House. Indeed the Sessions of 1692 and of 1713 were cut short by Prorogations, before they could compleat their Business: That of 1692 was prorogued in Resentment for an Invasion on

on the Prerogative : That of 1713 was prorogued to save wicked Ministers, who would have established Arbitrary Power in this Kingdom, the better to promote their *Jacobite* Schemes, if they had not been checked in their Career, by a gallant Protestant House of Commons, with a Speaker at their Head, *zealous for the Succession in the illustrious House of HANOVER*, and by his Blood, Interest and Principles, firmly connected with the Rights of his Country.

THE Author is certainly mistaken in the first of his Assertions; and would have been convinced in that, if he had but cast his Eye on the Proceedings in the Session of 1695, next to his beloved one in 1692. He would there have found, that the Publick Accounts were called for by the House, for various Purposes. That they were first referred to the Committee of Supply, and after the *Quantum* of Supply was resolved, that then, at the Instance and Motion of the Committee of Supply, another Committee was appointed to examine the Accedunts, and many Particulars were given in Charge to that Committee, no way relative to the Supply, but altogether to the Management of the Revenue.

IN 1697, the Commons, by their own Authority, ordered sundry Accounts from the Treasury, and from the Commissioners of the Revenue, to be laid before them, as of *Right*, and particularly of the *Forfeitures*; which I cannot omit to observe, upon Account of that nice Distinction recently made, to serve a Turn, between the *Private* and *Trust* Estate of the Crown; a Distinction, which

which we find not favoured any where in the Commons Journal.

I will readily grant, that when Accounts have been brought into Parliament, without Call of the Commons, they have been generally brought in, to point out the *Quantum* of a Supply, or for some other Purpose of the Government. But it is as certain, that those Accounts have been applied to other national Purposes, as often as the Commons liked so to do; and that the Commons have never looked upon themselves to be circumscribed by the Purposes for which the Accounts might have been at first introduced.

In 1703, the Commons ordered the several Officers to lay the several publick Accounts before the House, and when they were brought in, a Committee was appointed to inspect them; and this Committee did not act in the humble Manner the *Considerations* would direct.

It will not be improper to point out a few of the Observations of this Committee, that the *Considerations* may be convinced they looked upon themselves, to have more Authority than some People would in these Days allow them.

“ DUKE of *St. Albans*, *Richard*, Earl of *Rat-*
lagh, &c. Pensioners.— We know not upon
 “ what *Considerations* the above Pensions were
 “ granted.”

D

LIEUTENANT

"LIEUTENANT Colonel *Montargis* Pay of Lieutenant Colonel and Captain of Foot, till provided for.—Not provided for. Quere, why not?"

"MR. Justice *Dolben*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, 600 *l.*—Memorandum. He received 200 *l.* for two Circuits, of which he went no Part, and which by the exprefs Words of the Establishment, ought to be saved to the Queen."

It would be too tedious in this Work, to recite more Articles of that spirited Report. I recommend it to the Perusal of the Author of the *Considerations*, that he may be satisfied, that a Committee of Accounts hath something more to do for the Nation, than barely to be *directed*, to ascertain the *Quantum* of a Supply.

THE Committee of Accounts in 1725 and 1745 sat long, after the Supply was granted, and examined upon Oath; which doth not seem to be a necessary Step toward granting a Supply.

BUT why should I laboriously search for Evidence, when I can bring this Author, as usual, to be a Witness against himself.

HE, in Page 47, forgetting all he had said in former Pages, saith thus: "Nor is the Publick without a Remedy in Case of Abuse: The true
"Parliamentary

“ Parliamentary Check will always remain, either
 “ to *withhold* future Grants, in Proportion to Mis-
 “ applications, or to punish those, who shall wick-
 “ edly advise such Acts as would be a Breach of
 “ the publick *Trust*.”

THE Author will not dispute, that it will be necessary to look into Accounts, to detect *Abuses* or *Misapplications* of the publick Money. But if the Commons have not a *Right* to call for them for some other Purpose, than merely to *direct* them in granting Supplies, how shall they come to a Knowledge of the *Abuses* or *Misapplications*? He will not suppose, that Ministers, who advise those *Abuses*, will publish their Offences, and supply Evidence to ruin themselves, if the Constitution will not compel them so to do. The Absurdity is so great, that it would be an Affront to a Reader, to take more Pains to expose it.

A Committee of Accounts appears, from all that hath been said, to have commenced with Parliaments after the Revolution, and is now become so much a Part of the Parliamentary Constitution, that by a standing Order of the House, *no Supply can be granted, until the Committee shall make a Report*; and whenever that Committee hath reported *Credit* to the Nation, it will be found by the uninterrupted Practice, that the Sum in Credit, whatever it hath been, was ever appropriated to the current Service of the next Term for which the Supply was granted; and that it cannot be otherwise, without breaking in upon the Chain of publick Accounts, that

hath subsisted since the first Grant of additional Duties, in Aid of the hereditary Revenue.

AND thus I am fairly brought to the proving, by the Law and Usage of Parliament, that every Surplus of the Revenue hath been appropriated or applied by the Commons, to publick Service, with the Admission and Assent of the Crown.

THE first Parliament that met after the Parliament of 1662, was that of 1692, as hath been often related. The War was not over more than a Year, when this Parliament assembled; the Country was not then recovered from it's wretched Condition, and the Revenue could not be in a better State. So that we can learn nothing from this Period, relative to the Revenue, save that the Forfeitures were greatly mismanaged and embezzled.

AND indeed the Reader would find little Entertainment in any Matter I could pick out of the Parliamentary History relative to the Subject I am upon, before 1703. Then indeed a regular Method of Proceeding was plan'd and executed, and hath been adhered to since.

HERE I shall begin, and relate with Exactness the Proceeding of the Commons in granting of Supplies; which, if diligently attended to, will more effectually bring the present Controversy to an End, than all the ingenious Arguments that can be invented. For Facts stare Men full in the Face, and can

can only be put out of Countenance by Facts. Wit may get the better of Truth; but all the Arguments of the cunningest Logicians will not persuade a Man, that his Eyes are not open when he seeth; or that he liveth not when he feels. To Facts therefore he, that seeks sincerely for Truth will ever resort; and when they declare against him, he will candidly submit, and not trouble the World with Contention, or endeavour to engage Men, to waste their Time and disturb their Neighbours with everlasting Disputes and Wrangles, for the Sake of Conquest only.

THE Peace of *Ryswick* was ensued by an *English* Law for disbanding the Army, except a certain Number; and by this Law, the King was permitted to keep up twelve thousand Men in *Ireland*, to be established in the Manner the Act prescribed; to be all natural born Subjects, and to be maintained by *Ireland*. This Establishment was well pleasing to the Kingdom, and the *wise Hero* then upon the Throne foresaw, that *France* would not keep any Terms with her Neighbours longer, than while she was recovering her Strength; and therefore resolved to make as good an Use of the Law as he might, and to fill the *Irish* Establishment. This necessarily drew after it a great Expence, which, as it was soon discovered, the *Hereditary-Revenue* could not alone afford; and therefore a Parliament was called in 1703, the Duke of *Ormond* being Lord Lieutenant, to give an Aid to that Revenue.

THE Lord Lieutenant told the Commons from the Throne, " That her Majesty expected from " them only to Discharge the Publick Debts, and " to make the Revenue EQUAL to the Expence of " Government."

AND from the fixed Rule in this Speech, the Measure of Supply has been computed from that Day, without Variation.

IN the Address of Thanks, the *Commons* promised, " To do all in their Power, in their then " Circumstances, for discharging the Debt of the " Nation, and defraying the Expence of the " Establishment."

AND toward fulfilling their Engagement, they resolved, " That a Supply be granted to her Majesty." But before they proceeded to ascertain the *Quantum* of that Supply, they appointed a Committee to inspect the Publick Accounts, which they had *called* for, and to report their Opinion.

THEY then passed a Bill, " For an additional Duty " of Excise upon Beer, Ale and other Liquors, for " one Year," which had been proposed in Council and transmitted in Form, according to *Poyning's* Law, and became a Law, before the *Supply* was granted.

THE Committee of Accounts next made a Report, and received the Thanks of the House, for
saving

saving the Nation a Sum of one hundred and three thousand, three hundred and sixty-eight Pounds, four Shillings and four Pence, which by Misrepresentation was charged as a Debt on the Nation; and then the House proceeded to vote a Supply, which was done with the strictest Regard to the Demand from the Throne, and to their own Engagement.

FOR past Time, they resolved; " That the
 " Funds formerly granted by Parliament, and *the*
 " *Revenue of the Kingdom*, were sufficient to sup-
 " port the Government, and to discharge the pub-
 " lick Debts to and from *Michaelmas 1703*."

FOR Time to come, they resolved; " That the
 " Supply be a Sum *sufficient to make up the De-*
 " *ficiency* of the Revenue, to support the *necef-*
 " *sary* Branches of the Establishment for two
 " Years."

THEN they resolved; " That a Sum *not exceed-*
 " *ing* one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds be
 " granted, to make good the Deficiency of the
 " *necessary* Branches of the Establishment, for the
 " Support of the Government for two Years."

THE *Quantum* of the Supply being thus fixed, the Ways and Means of raising this Supply were next to be thought of: For this Purpose they resolved;

I. " THAT such Debt as shall appear to be
 " due to the Nation, shall be Part of the one
 " hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds granted
 " to her Majesty."

II. " That the half Year's *Quit-Rent*, which
 " became due at *Michaelmas*, amounting to twenty-
 " nine Thousand Pounds, is such a Debt due to
 " the Nation, as ought to be taken and reckoned
 " as Part of the one hundred and fifty thousand
 " Pounds granted to her Majesty."

III. " THAT there is a further Debt of two
 " thousand, two hundred and thirteen Pounds,
 " four Shillings and eleven Pence due to the Na-
 " tion, which ought to be taken and reckoned as
 " Part of the one hundred and fifty thousand
 " Pounds granted to her Majesty."

IV. " THAT the additional Duty of Excise up-
 " on Beer, Ale and other Liquors, granted by an
 " Act of this present Session of Parliament for one
 " Year, commencing *Michaelmas* 1703, be va-
 " lued at, and taken for, thirty thousand of the said
 " one hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds granted
 " to her Majesty."

V. " That the same additional Duty of Excise
 " upon Beer, Ale and other Liquors, granted
 " for one Year by Act of this present Session of
 " Parliament, be further continued upon all Beer,
 " Ale

“ Ale and other Liquors, for and until *Michaelmas*
“ 1705.

VI. “ THAT the additional Duty of three
“ Pence Halfpenny *per* Pound Weight, upon
“ all Tobacco, which shall be imported into
“ this Kingdom, for two Years, shall be taken
“ for fifty Thousand Pounds, of the one hundred
“ and fifty Thousand Pounds granted to her
“ Majesty.”

BESIDE those recited Articles, there were additional Duties granted upon Linen, Muslin, Calicoes, and Molasses, and four Shillings *per* Pound on certain Pensions and Grants, the Product of which, it was expected, would amount to the Remainder of the Sum of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds.

HEADS of a Bill were ordered upon the said Resolutions, and a Law afterwards passed, to grant to the Queen, the several additional Duties mentioned in the Resolutions, with a general Preamble, setting forth, “ That the Commons well knowing,
“ that the Security, Peace, and Prosperity of this
“ your Majesty’s Realm, necessarily depend on
“ the Support of your Majesty’s Government, have
“ in most thankful Acknowledgment of your Majesty’s most gracious Disposition and tender Care
“ to preserve your People, in the full and free Enjoyments of their Religion, Laws and Liberties,
“ (the Effects and Fruits whereof do daily rejoice
“ the

“ the Hearts of all your good Subjects) freely,
 “ chearfully and unanimously given to your Ma-
 “ jesty, &c.”

IF the Representatives of those Days had been all *Prophets* they could not have provided a more ample Proof of the Power of Parliament over the Hereditary Revenue, and of their Title to every Surplus arising thereupon, than this which they have transmitted to us; with which alone we are able to encounter successfully every Argument that hath been produced in Favour of the *novel* Political Maxim, of the *Previous Consent* of the Crown being necessary, before the Commons can even propose to apply any Surplus.

FOR, hence we may observe, that under the Title of a Supply *EQUAL to a Charge*, no Provision can be made for future Contingencies, because they cannot be foreseen; therefore what are called *extraordinary* Expences of Government (amongst which are *King's Letters*) must be in the Commons alone to allow or disallow, there being no Provision made for them; and that when the Charge and Revenue are made by Computation *EQUAL*, if the Charge diminishes, or the Revenue increases, the Advantage ought to accrue to the Publick; for, if the Publick must repair the Deficiency, it ought certainly to avail it self of any Improvement. And this will be found, to have been the uniform Practice of Parliament.

THE Demand from the Throne, that the Revenue should be made EQUAL to the *Charges* of Government, which hath not been varied in Substance to this Day, should alone determine the Question, and give up the Surplus to the Management of the Publick.

BUT to remove all Pretences for even doubting, fortunately it happened, that at the same time, a full Exposition of the Intentions of all Parties was made, and as clear and explicit a Declaration of the Right of the Commons, to apply every Surplus, as Men could think of,

THE Intention of the Crown is evident, that all it desired was to have from the Subject, as much Aid as, being joined to the Produce of the *Hereditary-Revenue*, would support the Government; and the only Support the Government expected was, to have its Establishment maintained. For by a fixed Establishment only could the Proportion be ascertained between the Charge and the Revenue. The Commons having taken the Establishment into Consideration, (for they did not look upon themselves to be bound even by that) and having censured very freely the unnecessary Branches thereof, made an Estimate of the standing Revenue of the Kingdom, and found there would be required one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, to be given in Aid of that Revenue, to support the necessary Branches of the Establishment for two Years.

To

To raise this Sum, they first applied *Quit-Rents*, due at *Michaelmas*, to the Value of twenty-nine thousand Pounds. *Quit-Rents* are undoubtedly Part of the Revenue before granted to the Crown ; and indeed that Part, that the Advocates for the *Previous Consent* most strongly insist upon, to be private Estate, as issuing out of *Forfeitures*. Yet without any Opposition from the Servants of the Crown, this is called a *Debt due to the Nation*, and applied in express Terms by the Publick, to the Use of the Publick. That this Application may appear in its strongest Light, it should be observed, that the Provision making for the Support of Government was to commence from *Michaelmas* 1703, at which time these *Quit-Rents* became due, and therefore the Revenue unapplied at that Day was really a Surplus, after the Exigencies of Government were satisfied, and returned to the Publick, and was appropriated in the Manner I have mentioned.

Now, Reader, be so just to yourself and the Majority of your faithful Representatives, as to turn to Page 42 of the *Considerations*, where you will find the following Words :

“ THE going through the Accounts, is only to enable the House to judge, what may be the Measure for the Supply ; not to appropriate the Ballance, if any there should be ; for that remains as Money already vested in the Crown, for Publick Services : And I do not know of
“ any

“ any Instance, where such Ballance has ever been
 “ *appropriated* by Parliament, without the *previous*
 “ *Consent* of the Crown.”

CAN there be an Excuse invented for this Author, who went back to 1692, to find out a fallacious Argument, to divest the Commons of a most important Power, the Inspection of Publick Accounts; and would not stop in his Way, at 1703, to read and consider a Precedent that would have saved him much Trouble in contriving, and me a good deal of Labour in unraveling his intangled Work?

IN the next Place, they *applied*, “ Another Debt
 “ of two thousand, two hundred and thirteen
 “ Pounds, four Shillings, and eleven Pence, *due*
 “ *to the Nation*, to the same Purpose.”

THIS will admit in most Part of the same Reasoning with the last.

IN the third Place, they *applied* the Additional Duty of Excise upon Beer, &c. granted by an Act of the same Session, to the same Purpose, and valued it at thirty thousand Pounds.

AND then, they proceeded to fix upon additional Duties to compleat the Sum.

ONE *risen from the dead* could not convince Persons, who will shut their Eyes, and stop their Ears against such conclusive Evidence as this.

IT

It will probably be said, that these Things are not mentioned in the Act of Parliament, and therefore do not appear to have been legally granted.

To which this will be a full Answer: That they needed not be mentioned in the Act of Parliament, which was only to authorize a new Collection of Duties; but that the great Duties granted by the Act of Parliament, having been valued in the Committee of Ways and Means, if those Debts, and Additional Duties were not taken as Part of the Supply of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, it would have been deficient in the Sum of sixty one thousand, two hundred, and thirteen Pounds, four Shillings and eleven Pence.

In the Sessions of 1705 and 1707, there do not appear any Particulars remarkable upon this Occasion.

BUT in 1709, the Committee of Accounts reported; " That there will remain in *Credit to the Nation* at *Midsummer* 1709, over and above all Charges of Government, seventy one thousand and nineteen Pounds, one Shilling and five Pence."

THIS considerable Surplus, very considerable indeed, when the Supply for one Year amounted but to seventy-five thousand Pounds, was the particular Object and Care of the *Earl of Wharton*, then

then Lord Lieutenant, who, doubtless, wished to see it disposed of to the best Advantage: And therefore proposed in his Speech from the Throne, " That the *Commons* should take into Consideration, whether it would not be for their Service to put some of their Fortifications in a better Condition of Defence; and whether it would not be reasonable for them to have a sufficient Quantity of Ammunition and warlike Stores always before hand; and whether it would not be absolutely necessary to think of building some proper and safe Place for the keeping of those Arms and Stores, which they had already, and which they might think fit thereafter to provide."

THE Ingenuity of Men could not devise a more effectual Method to dispose of a Redundancy.

THE House of Commons of *Ireland* never wanted Generosity to their Governors, when they were not dealt with roughly, and this Governor was too well acquainted with the World, not to know how to please those he wanted to win.

So that the Committee of Supply, having, as usual, voted a Supply for the necessary " Branches of the Establishment," in the next Place resolved;

" THAT a Supply be granted to his Majesty for buying Arms, Ammunition, and other warlike Stores for the Militia of this Kingdom; and for building

“ building and providing Arsenals in the several
 “ Provinces of the Kingdom, to lodge and secure
 “ the said Arms, and Ammunition and other war-
 “ like Stores.”

AND what amounts to a Demonstration, that the Redundancy was the Fund for this new Charge is this, that the Supply granted for the usual Service of the Publick, and for these additional Services, which bespoke great Expence, was but the old one of seventy-five thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and that instead of adding new Duties, the old Duties upon white, painted, and stained Callicoes, and all other Sorts of Linen, were granted to the Use of the Linen Manufacture.

IN 1710, the Committee of Accounts reported in the first Place, “ THAT THE BALLANCE DUE
 “ TO THE NATION AT MIDSUMMER 1709, A-
 “ MOUNTING TO SEVENTY-ONE THOUSAND AND
 “ NINETEEN POUNDS, ONE SHILLING AND FIVE
 “ PENCE, HALF-PENNY, HAS BEEN DULY CRE-
 “ DITED TO THE PUBLICK ;” and reported also a *new Ballance* of eleven thousand, five hundred, forty-seven Pounds, seven Shillings and eleven Pence, to be due to the Nation at *Midsummer* 1710.

IN 1711, the Committee of Accounts, with like Care, reported, “ THAT THE BALLANCE IN 1710
 “ WAS DULY CREDITED TO THE PUBLICK ; and
 “ that there was then *in Credit to the Nation* a Sum
 “ of

“ of six thousand, four hundred, thirty-three
 “ Pounds, seventeen Shillings and seven Pence.

IN 1713, there was no Report from the Committee of Accounts, the Parliament having been suddenly prorogued, for a Reason herein before related.

BUT in 1715, the Committee of Accounts carried back their Inquiry to the Year 1711, and reported, “ THAT DUE CREDIT HAD BEEN GIVEN
 “ TO THE PUBLICK FOR THE BALLANCE IN
 “ 1711.”

IN the Committee of Supply of this Year, there is a very remarkable Resolution, which shews the great Care and Nicety there was in those Days, that the *Publick* should have *due Credit* upon all Occasions. There was, as there is still, upon the Establishment, a certain Provision for the Support of Barracks: This having been provided for, but not expended, the Committee of Supply resolved,
 “ That Credit ought to be given to the Kingdom
 “ for seven thousand, one hundred, forty-two
 “ Pounds, three Shillings and a Farthing, being
 “ untied of the Barrack-Fund ;” which reduced the Debt of the Nation, as reported by the Committee of Accounts, to sixteen thousand, one hundred and six Pounds, eleven Shillings, and one Half-penny, which was the first Debt contracted by the Kingdom.

IN this Session fifty thousand Pounds were borrowed at Interest, to put the Kingdom into a proper Condition of Defence; lest any Disturbance, encouraged by the Rebellion in *Scotland*, should happen therein, in Favour of the *Pretender*.

IN the Committee of Ways and Means, "The Produce of a Bill passed, for granting additional Duties upon Beer, Ale, Strong Waters, Tobacco, and other Goods, and Merchandizes for six Months," was voted Part of the Supply, as was before done in the Year 1703.

AND there can be no Dispute that this was as absolute a Law, as any of those that created the Hereditary Revenue; and that, if the Commons had not a Right to apply to the Publick Service, the Produce of the Hereditary-Revenue, neither had they of this recent Law. It was as full a Grant to the Crown; the Trust was the same in the one as the other; yet did not the least Objection arise to this *Application*.

To pay the Interest of the fifty thousand Pounds, some additional Taxes were created; amongst which was one of four Shillings in the Pound upon Pensions and Employments: But these new Taxes were added to the aggregate Fund, and no separate Account kept of them.

THE Debt then in 1715 was the Sum of sixty-six thousand, one hundred and six Pounds, eleven Shillings and one Half-penny, and grew in 1717

to ninety-four thousand, five hundred and forty-four Pounds, thirteen Shillings and two Pence, three Eighths.

IN 1719, the Debt fell to eighty-seven thousand, five hundred and eleven Pounds, four Shillings and seven Pence Farthing ; in 1721, to seventy-seven thousand, two hundred, and sixty-one Pounds, six Shillings and seven Pence ; and in 1723, to sixty-six thousand, three hundred and eighteen Pounds, eight Shillings, and three Pence Farthing.

IN those several Instances of reducing the *national* Debt, since the Year 1717, no other Means were made use of for that Purpose, but an *Application* of the several Surpluses. Hence it is manifest, that in that time a Sum of twenty-eight thousand, two hundred, and twenty-six Pounds (being the Surplus upon the whole Revenue) was, without Hesitation or Contradiction, applied to ease so much of what was called the *national* Debt : And it is as sure that this was done, without any Form of *Previous Consent*, but in the ordinary Manner of accounting, between *Debtor* and *Creditor* ; the same manner, that hath been continued to this Day, as will hereafter clearly appear.

IN 1725, the Debt grew to one hundred and nineteen thousand, two hundred and fifteen Pounds, five Shillings and three Pence ; in 1727, to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand, three hundred and seventy-one Pounds, fifteen Shillings and six

Pence ; and in 1729, to two hundred and twenty thousand, seven hundred and thirty Pounds, fifteen Shillings and three Pence.

THIS great Debt occasioned so large an Arrear upon the Establishment, especially upon the Military Part thereof, that it caused Inconveniencies and Difficulties to the Government; which the Commons resolved to remove, not having any reasonable Hopes, that the ordinary Revenue would be sufficient to reduce so considerable a Debt, in any convenient time. For this Purpose they resolved to borrow one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, and to provide a separate Fund, to pay the Interest of that and the fifty thousand formerly borrowed, until the Principal should be paid off: Because, as the Preamble to the Act expressed, “ So great a Debt could not AT PRESENT be discharged, and the necessary Branches of your Majesty’s Establishment supported, without such Supplies as would greatly burthen your Majesty’s faithful Subjects of this Kingdom.”

TOWARD paying this Interest, they took the Tax of four Shillings *per* Pound upon Pensions and Employments, which was originally added to the aggregate Fund for Payment of the Interest of fifty thousand Pounds, from the ordinary Supply, and made it Part of this appropriated Fund, by which the Interest of the whole Debt was to be paid.

ANOTHER great Arrear grew upon the Establishment of 1731, and it was found necessary to borrow

borrow one hundred thousand Pounds more, to add it to the former Debt, and to appropriate the same Fund to the Payment of the Interest of this new Debt also, and to apply its Surplus, whatever it might be, toward discharge of the Principal, by a new Law, with the like Preamble, importing, "That so great a Debt could not AT PRESENT be discharged, and the necessary Branches of the Establishment supported."

THERE were afterwards other Sums borrowed, and placed upon the same Fund, to be paid Interest thereout.

THE Law for providing this Interest had never any Continuance longer than for two Years; and one political Reason, plainly to be discovered, was, that though they could not AT PRESENT discharge the Principal, out of the usual Supplies, (which, truly they had a gloomy Prospect of ever being able to do) yet it was not fit totally to give it up, as a thing altogether desperate; and therefore, by giving the Law but two Years Continuation, they reserved a Power of applying any Surplus that might arise to this PUBLICK Service,

— WHETHER this Reason was expressed or implied it matters not. It is clear, that the Publick Accounts always did keep the Principal and Interest of the Debt separate; and in the National State of the Account, made up and signed by his Majesty's *Accountant-General*, the Principal Debt hath always been carried on as a Charge against

the Nation, without any Notice taken of Interest; and Credit hath ever been given for the Surplus arising upon the Fund provided for paying Interest, and made applicable by Law, to go toward the Discharge of the Principal.

For the Illustration of this Matter, I must insert States of the National Account at different Periods.

A GENERAL State of the National Account, from *Lady-day 1749, to Lady-day 1751.*

Hereditary Revenue, nett	872800	18	11½
Additional Duties, nett, with			
Poundage	366683	1	3
Surplus of Loan Duties, over Interest	26647	2	3
	1266131	2	5½

Debt of the Nation at <i>Lady-day</i>			
1749	205117	18	6
Civil List	146134	8	4¼
Military Establishment	766151	19	1
Payments pursuant to Act of Parliament, &c.	126356	14	6½
	1243761	0	6¼

Which being deducted from the amount of the Revenues, there will remain in Credit to the Nation at *Lady-day 1751* — 22370 1 11½

A GE-

A GENERAL State of the National Account from
Lady-day 1751, to Lady-day 1753.

Credit remaining to the Nation at

<i>Lady-day 1751</i> ——— —	22370	1	11
Hereditary Revenue, nett —	866672	6	3
Additional Duties, nett, with Poundage Fees ——— —	349733	13	10
Surplus of Loan Duties, over and above Interest ——— —	25089	14	11
	<u>1263865</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>

Civil List ——— —	143705	0	8
Military Establishment ———	762571	7	7
Payments pursuant to Acts of Parliament, &c. ———	152415	9	7
	<u>1058691</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>10</u>

Which being deducted from the
former Credit and Revenues,
there will remain in Credit to
the Nation at *Lady-day 1753.* 205173 19 1

It is not a little surprizing, that it should be
thought at this Time necessary, to wait for the
Consent of the Crown, to apply what the Crown
hath already, by its Servants, given the Nation
Credit for, and which only waits for proper Appli-
cation. But the *Observations* have made two Ob-
jections to my Train of Argument which must be
answered, or all the Pains I have taken will little
avail.

In stating the Account of 1745, he saith, " That
 " the National Debt appears to be but two hun-
 " dred and fifty-eight thousand, five hundred and
 " seventeen Pounds, ten Shillings, and six Pence,
 " and at the same Time the Nation paid Interest
 " for three hundred and thirty-five thousand
 " Pounds; and that the Revenue exceeded the
 " Charge of Government, in the two Years imme-
 " diately preceding, by the Sum of seventy-one
 " thousand, nine hundred and forty-seven Pounds."

BE it so: What is the Inference? *That it is ex-
 traordinary, that the Nation should be reported, to be in
 Debt but two hundred and fifty-eight thousand, five
 hundred and seventeen Pounds, ten Shillings and six
 Pence; and should if it had a Power over the Surplus,
 without the PREVIOUS CONSENT of the Crown, pay
 at the same time Interest for so much a greater Sum;
 and not only submit to this Hardship, but also raise a
 further Sum of seventy thousand Pounds, at Interest.*

THE Author of these *Observations* will find, if
 he pleases to examine, that the Difference between
 the two Debts, amounts but to seventy-six thou-
 sand four hundred and eighty-two Pounds, nine
 Shillings and six Pence; and that the Ballance in
 the Treasury was really at that Time but thirty-
 three thousand, six hundred and nineteen Pounds,
 seven Shillings and ten Pence; and that the former
 Difference was occasioned by the Nation having
 Credit for all Arrears, some of which never will
 become Cash. This Matter was not forgotten to
 be

be mentioned in the House at that time; but upon receiving this fair Answer, was not further insisted upon. Yet let us suppose the whole Sum had been in the Treasury; will any Men of Loyalty say, that the COMMONS of IRELAND, distinguished for their firm Attachment to the illustrious House of HANOVER, should not rather borrow any Sum they wanted at any Interest, than to take from that Treasure, at a Season when an Army of SCOTCH *Rebels* had presumed to march into the Heart of ENGLAND; when all the PROTESTANTS in IRELAND were arming, to attend every Call for the Service of their Excellent KING and his Royal House, whose Success alone could give them Security.

AND indeed the Necessity of not touching that Money appeared evidently in 1747, when the Charge of Government exceeded the Revenue by fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred and thirty-seven Pounds, sixteen Shillings and four Pence; which appears by the National Account of that Session, viz.—

Charge of Government	—————	—	914206	15	1
National Revenue, nett,	—————	—	856368	18	9

Difference 57837 16 4

By this true State of the Case, it seems, that if the *Commons* had not been more prudent, than the *Observations* would have had them, the Government would have lain under fresh Difficulties, at a
Time

Time when they could not have been easily shaken off.

It doth not appear there was any Surplus worthy the Consideration of Parliament, until the *French War* ended in 1748: Then indeed there was so prodigious an Importation of Food for Luxury, that the Revenue afforded an unnatural Redundancy; and it cannot be laid to the Charge of the Commons that they let the first Opportunity pass them, for they made the *Application* of 128000*l.* in 1749.

THESE *Observations* have made use of one Argument to captivate, that, if true, would not answer their Purpose long; but as it is false, must in the End bring great Prejudice to their Cause.

It begins, Page 20, observing, " That in the " Year 1741, there were Savings to the Nation,

" On the Military Establishment 178130 11 0

" On the Civil List ————— 1202 1 2

179332 12 2

" which," they add, " was a very great Ease to the " Nation."

PAGE 21, they make the like Remark of the Year 1743.

Page 22, of the Year 1745.

AND

AND Page 23, of the Year 1747. And in succeeding Pages they repeat the Remark of the following Periods.

IN Pages 36 and 37, they apply their Doctrine to use, and carry a List of all the Savings, which they make to amount to *four hundred, sixty-nine thousand, five hundred and one Pounds*: And in Page 38, have drawn from the Whole this notable Conclusion, “ That it appears, that the redundant Money in the Treasury, did not arise, as some have vainly imagined, from Exceedings in the Aids granted to the Crown. It arose from Savings on the Military Establishment, and Civil List, which amounted to above 100000*l.* more than the highest Loan, and other Debt of the Nation ever was.” And Page 39, they boast, “ That they have confined themselves to Facts, that cannot be controverted,” and that therefore they believe; “ That the unprejudiced Reader, will find sufficient Reason to judge, that the *Fomentors* of the rejecting the Bill, (that is, the *Majority of the House of Commons*) do not deserve the much respected Names of PATRIOTS, AND DEFENDERS OF THE LIBERTIES OF THEIR COUNTRY.”

THE Friends of that MAJORITY of the COMMONS (of which Number, in Pride, I profess myself one) will struggle hard before they lose those *much respected Names*, which are given them by about two Millions of People, notwithstanding all the irregular Attempts made to poison their Minds,

Minds. Therefore I must take the Liberty to *controvert the Facts*, upon which the *Observations* are founded.

I SHALL not take any Notice of the Savings upon the Civil List; they are not worth repeating.

THE Military Savings are the only Object worthy Consideration, and shall be fully explained. Every Body must remember that the War with *Spain* broke out in 1739, and the War with *France* in 1743, or thereabout. *Ireland* is, in Time of Peace, a Nursery for Troops for *Great-Britain*; therefore in War time these Troops are, as many as are wanted, carried into *Great-Britain* or abroad, as Occasion requires. *Great-Britain* having had upon her Hands at once a War with two such formidable Powers, was obliged to exert all her Force; to keep her Garisons full abroad to prevent Surprizes; to act offensively in *America*, and upon the Continent of *Europe*; and defensively at Home, *Pro aris & focis*, against SCOTCH REBELS, acting in Favour of a POPISH PRETENDER, supported by FRANCE. In these various Distresses she had a Right to command all the Troops of this Country to her Assistance; and she did command them as she pleased; and she might have commanded, in the same manner, every PROTESTANT in IRELAND that could have carried a *Musket*, or made even one of a *Baggage-guard*. The least Murmur was not heard in IRELAND, though she paid some of her Troops out of the Kingdom upon that Occasion; So zealous were

were all to spend their Blood and Treasure in the glorious Cause.

WHENEVER the Establishment is laid before the House of Commons for a Supply, it is provided for as if it were full, though it is well known not to be full at the Time; but it is so ordered, lest it may happen to be full before the succeeding Session. This was the Case throughout the War, and therefore the Difference, between the Provision made, and the Expence incurred, should not, for it cannot properly be called a *Saving*. The Accountants charge the Nation with the whole Establishment, and give them Credit for as much of the Establishment as was not full. What Advantage hath the Nation by this? It cannot need much Proof, that it greatly redounds to the Profit of the Kingdom, to keep its Establishment full, though a greater Expence were to follow.

BUT granting this to be a Saving; how much thereof is in the Treasury? Very little, truly. To prove this, I need only shew the *fallacious* Method of stating the Account, by the *Observations*, to the Year 1749, at which the Surplus was first applied by Parliament to the Payment of the Debt.

L. s. d.

THE Saving in 1741, say the
Observations, was, ———— 179332 12 2

The National Account for 1741, tells a very different Story.

Charge

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Charge of Government	929859	9	4
Revenue Nett — —	876810	14	7

Charge above Revenue 53048 14 9 which
increased the National Debt just so much: Where
were the Savings and the Ease to the Nation ?

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
So in 1743, say they, the			
Saving was	113562	7	4

Behold again the National Account at that Period.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Charge of Government —	898108	9	9
Revenue Nett — —	894258	16	2

Charge above Revenue 3849 13 7 which
again increased the national Debt.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In 1745 and 1747 they make			
the Saving — —	105299	10	8

The National Account stands thus :

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Revenue Nett — —	1773609	8	4
Charge of Government	1755650	6	11

Revenue above Establishment 17959 1 5 which
was carried to the Credit of the Nation as a
Surplus.

So that the supposed Redundancy, misrepresented
ed to have grown in that Time, of three hundred,
ninety-

ninety-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-four Pounds, ten Shillings and two Pence, is thus reduced to seventeen thousand, nine hundred, and fifty-nine Pounds, one Shilling and five Pence.

AND still it is made less considerable by the Revenue of 1745 and 1747 exceeding the Revenue of 1741 and 1743, by a Sum of 2539 *l.* 17 *s.* 7 *d.*

WHAT a Cause must this be, that cannot bear a critical Examination of the Arguments propagated for it's Support? Figures can only deceive the Man, who understandeth them not, or will not examine them. They serve extremely well to impose upon the ignorant, or the indolent. The indolent will say, who could think that any Person, for Favour or Interest, should venture his Reputation upon a Fact, that might some Time ago be in the Breasts of a few only, but by the printing of the Commons Journal, is now open to every Body.

It should then be an inviolable Rule with an indolent Person, never to condemn the accused till he examines well; for there is no Trust to be put in Party-Writers. If their Arguments be formed on Facts, be sure the Facts are impartially stated, before you allow their Arguments the desired Force.

I have yet one Part of the *Considerations* to take Notice of, that offers Precedents to support their Cause.

Cause. These are *English* or *Irish*. The *English* Precedents in the Cases of the *Excise* and *Gin* Acts answer themselves; for these were to affect an Estate granted to the King for his Life, and *especially appropriated* to the Support of his *Household* and *Civil List*, not given in General for *publick* Services, but for *certain publick* Services. As there was no other Fund out of which these Services could be supplied, it was agreeable to the strict Rules of Justice, that the Consent of the Crown should be first had, before that Fund should be affected prejudicially. But Estates that are vested in the Crown, by Common or Statute Law, for *Publick Services* generally, stand upon a quite different Footing, as will be best explained, by two well known Instances, that, I suppose, will be admitted, at least to counterpoise those in the *Considerations*.

THE first is, the Act of *Resumption of Irish Grants* in the Reign of King *William*, which passed not only without his *previous Consent*, but directly against his *known Inclination*; so that in order to compel him to give his *Assent*, it was consolidated with the Money-Bill for paying the Army and Fleet; and the Commons not only positively and peremptorily refused to submit a third Part to the King's Disposal, but also tied up and secured the *Quit-Rents*, from being ever alienable. The next is more recent, for it happened in 1739, and is to be seen by every Body in the 17th Volume of the *Parliamentary Debates*, Page 429.

A Bill

Insulted in

A Bill was moved, for the more effectual securing the Trade of his Majesty's British Subjects in America, and for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service, which Bill was intended, partly to give all Captures made at Sea to British Sailors.

It was objected by the Servants of the Crown, amongst whom was a Gentleman now a principal Minister of celebrated Honour and Prudence; "That, by the Constitution, the Crown has the sole and absolute Property in every Ship and her Cargo that is taken from an Enemy, by any of his Majesty's Ships of War; and therefore, when any Share of a Prize is given or promised to the Captors, it ought to be considered as a gracious Condescension in the Crown; and that no Law should be ever proposed for that Purpose, until a Message was brought from the Crown: That acting otherwise would be a direct Encroachment upon the Prerogative Royal." And this was enforced by all the Eloquence and Reason that the Thing would admit of.

In Answer, "The Property of the Crown was admitted; but it was insisted, to be vested in the Crown, as a Trustee for the Publick; and that Ministers may be punished for a Misapplication of that, as well as any other Property belonging to the Publick: That though it was a Bill for altering, nay, for abolishing one of the Prerogatives

“tives of the Crown, it could not be admitted
 “as a Maxim, that no Alteration can be made
 “with Regard to any of the Prerogatives of
 “the Crown, unless leave be given to do so, by
 “a previous Message from the Crown.”

THE Gentlemen, who spoke against the Bill, thought proper to drop their Opposition, and it became a Law: And I do not remember, to have heard, that any of the Ministers were punished, for giving up the Point; or that the Gentlemen, who succeeded in the Debate, were charged with, or suspected of, carrying about them a Spirit of *Rebellion*.

I do not indeed think, that Precedents in the *British* Parliament, can in all Points direct the *Irish* Parliament, because in many Things they constitutionally differ: But where Precedents are brought on one Side, the best Method to end the Dispute is, to produce on the other Side, Precedents stronger, and more pointed, as they have been litigated; and such I apprehend those to be, which I have now offered.

THE *Irish* Precedents are taken from Addresses to the Lord Lieutenant, in Favour of the College and Charter-Schools, “That he would lay before
 “his Majesty their *bumble* Desire, that his Majesty
 “would be pleased, out of his *Royal Bounty*, to give,
 “&c.” This is desiring “a *Favour and acknow-*
 “*ledging a Bounty*, which would be absurd, if the
 “Crown had not the Right of Application.”

THIS

THIS is indeed catching at a Straw. Are not all Grants of Money made to the King? Must not all *Applications* be in his Name? Is not this allowed by every Body? But do not the *Commons*, even in those Instances, point out an *Application* of certain Sums, to certain Uses, not before provided for in the Committee of Supply? Such an *Application* must be called *Bounty*, because it cannot be called a *Publick Service*, being given to a *Private Use*: For though the College and Charter-Schools are most worthy of the Patronage and Care of the Publick, yet they are immediately under the Government of private Corporations, and therefore, in a Parliamentary Sense, are not ranked with *Publick-Services*.

THE Word *Bounty* is certainly relative to the Nature of the Grant. It being then a Matter of *Bounty*, it would be altogether Anti-Constitutional to Address his Majesty, that he would be pleased, out of *their Bounty*, to give, though it is well known the *Commons* must make good any Deficiency. These modern Addresses are taken from those of long standing: That in favour of the College is a Transcript from another of 1721, as to the *Bounty*. At that Time the Nation was in Debt in the Sum of 772611; whose *Bounty* was it then?

BUT this will be very clear, if Attention shall be given to the Manner of addressing for *Publick-Service*.

IN 1715, an *umble* Address was presented to his Majesty, “ *Humbly* beseeching him to *allow* the “ half-pay Officers full half-pay from *August* last, “ and promising to make good any Deficiency.”

ANOTHER Address was presented, *umbly* desiring, “ That Mr. *Topham* might be put upon the “ Establishment for a Sallary of three hundred “ Pounds *per Annum*, as Register of the Records “ of the Forfeitures in this Kingdom.”

IN 1721, an *umble* Address was laid before his Majesty, “ That *one Penny per Diem*, clear of all “ Deductions, be added to the Pay of each of the “ effective Soldiers of the several Regiments of “ Foot in this Kingdom, except to the Regiments “ of Foot which shall be on Duty in *Dublin*.”

THE Lord Lieutenant’s Answer will shew, that notwithstanding the *Humility* of the Address, it was taken as a Grant.

“ I will, said the Lord Lieutenant, by the first “ Opportunity, lay this Address before his Majesty, “ which I doubt not will be very acceptable, as it “ is a farther Instance of the Duty and Loyalty of “ the House of Commons, and will greatly “ tend to the Support of his Majesty’s Govern- “ ment.”

October

October 25, 1721. An Address was presented to the Lord Lieutenant " That he would lay before
 " his Majesty the *bumble* Desire of the House, that
 " his Majesty will be pleased to order, that a Sum
 " of five hundred Pounds be given to *Stephen*
 " *Costelloe* for the many Services performed by
 " him to the *Publick*"

THIS last Instance especially justifies me in the Distinction I have made with Respect to publick and private Applications of Money; that no more is meant by *Bounty* than to express it as a Matter of a *private* Nature, and that it admits no other Sort of Property in the Crown, than the others do, that is, a Trust for the Publick. If it were otherwise, how happened it that Application was made to the Commons? For it is very well known, that the very Sums were agreed upon before the Motions were made. I suppose the Application was made for this plain Reason, because the Publick Money was to be accounted for before them, and those could not be called Publick Services, such as the Publick Revenue is granted for; and of Course no Part of that Revenue which had been granted for Support of the Establishment only, could, without Misapplication, which the Sanction of the Commons obviated, be applied to private Uses, or in another Word, in *Bounty*.

BUT be that as it may, though the *Commons* had, through their great Respect for the Crown, used Words in an Address, that might be wrested to favour a Prerogative; yet I must insist

upon it, that it cannot be conclusive, whilst there are stronger and more explicate Precedents on the other Side. Such I shall now produce, and so close my Evidence.

IN the Session of 1751, an Address was, at the Instance of the Principal Servants of the Crown, presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, " That
 " he would be pleased to lay before his Majesty
 " the *humble* Desire of the House, that a Sum, not
 " exceeding the Sum of twenty-four thousand
 " Pounds, might be laid out in making Addi-
 " tions to, and providing Necessaries, for the Accom-
 " modation of his Majesty's Troops in the new Bar-
 " racks, and in building, rebuilding and repairing
 " such other Barracks, as his Majesty shall judge ne-
 " cessary for the more convenient Reception of his
 " Forces, and the more effectual Security of the
 " Kingdom."

IF there were Authority in the Crown to expend this Money, without such Address; why was it moved for, when there was so considerable a Sum in the Treasury? Surely, more Caution should have been used in a Matter grown so tender by the then late Transactions relative to the Money-Bill. May an ordinary Man not surmise, that it was not thought quite secure to trust to the Preamble past a little before?

THE last Instance shall be the Estimate drawn up by an Officer of the Crown, and delivered by him

him to his Majesty's principal Servants, Members of the House of Commons, for their Direction in moving for the *Quantum* of Supply.

Charge of Civil Establishment
at £. 79399 14 7 yearly, amounts, for two Years, to Dec.

25, 1755 ————— 158799 9 2

Charge of Military Establishment at 391631 16 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ yearly, amounts for two Years to Dec.

25, 1755 ————— 783263 12 7

Amounting to ————— 942063 21 9

TOWARDS ANSWERING WHICH
MUST BE APPLIED THE SUM
REMAINING IN CREDIT TO
THE NATION AT LADY-
DAY, 1753 —————

247162 18 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Also the Nett Produce of the
Hereditary Revenue, taken at
a Medium of seven Years last
past —————

393796

Making together ————— 640958 18 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Remains ————— 301104 3 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Add to this Grants by Parliament ————— 46468 13 4

Quantum of Supply to be asked ————— 347572 16 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

LET not the Officer be blamed for having done this ; let it not be suspected, that he hath betrayed the Cause, which he was employed to advance. No such Thing : He hath but followed the Precedents that have come down successively from 1703.

COULD any Reader believe, that the *much abused Commons* had all this to say for themselves ? Or can he now believe, that those who have most abused them, knew that all this was said for them before publickly ? Yet the Fact is so ; for in Truth, this is but a Recapitulation of sundry Speeches, with a more correct Detail, perhaps, of Facts.

CAN he suspect from what is here related, or from any of the Arguments made use of, that there was the least *Spirit of Rebellion* in the Majority, or the least Disposition to throw off their *Dependancy* upon the Crown of *Great-Britain* ?

YET in this Light have they been represented by their Enemies in *England*. But this is a stale Device. In the Beginning of this Century, the Trustees, acting under the famous Resumption Law, set up a very Inquisition in this Country, suspended all Law but their own, and were in all Things more like the *Roman Decemviri* in their corrupt State, than like Persons only impowered to act under the gentle Authority of *England*. The People thus aggrieved could not help complaining : And then they were represented as Persons desirous of delivering

vering themselves from a Subjection to an *English* Government. The Commons, when they met in 1703, shewed a well-spirited Resentment for this base Misrepresentation, to some of the Authors of it; and restored themselves to the Favour of the Crown by an Address, in which they thus delivered their Sentiments clearly and emphatically.

“ WE cannot, but with the deepest Concern, take
 “ Notice to your Majesty, that our Enemies, by
 “ many *groundless and malicious Calumnies*, have
 “ misrepresented us, (the sad and severe Effects
 “ whereof we too sensibly feel) and especially, as
 “ if we thought ourselves, or desired to be, *inde-*
 “ *pendant of the Crown of England*.

“ IN Duty therefore to your Majesty, and to
 “ vindicate ourselves from such foul and unworthy
 “ Aspersions, we here declare and acknowledge,
 “ that the Kingdom of *Ireland* is annexed, and
 “ united to the imperial Crown of *England*, and by
 “ the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom is de-
 “ clared to be justly and rightfully depending up-
 “ on, and belonging, and for ever united to the
 “ same, and that it never entered into our Thoughts
 “ to wish the contrary; the Happiness of this
 “ Kingdom entirely depending on a steady Duty
 “ paid to the Crown of *England*, and a good Cor-
 “ respondence with your Majesty’s Subjects of that
 “ Kingdom. And we do unanimously assure your
 “ Majesty, that we will, to the utmost of our Pow-
 “ er, support and maintain your Majesty’s rightful
 “ and lawful Title to the Crown of this Realm,
 “ and

“ and the Succession in the Protestant Line, as the
 “ same is settled by Acts of Parliament in Eng-
 “ land.”

Most certain it is, that there is not one *Protes-
 tant of Ireland*, who will not with Heart and Hand,
 at this Day, subscribe that solemn Declaration,

IN the Year 1713, when the Commons made
 the most glorious Stand against the Attempts of a
 Party, meditating the Overthrow of the Succession
 in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, their Enemies
 made use of the old Scheme of Misrepresentation
 in *England*; but the Commons followed it with a
 stinging Address, wherein they assured the Queen,
 “ That they would, as far as in them lay, Discoun-
 “ tenance the restless Endeavours of those factious
 “ Spirits, who attempted to weaken the *Protestant*
 “ Interest of the Kingdom, by sowing Jealousies,
 “ spreading false Calumnies, and raising ground-
 “ less Fears in the Minds of her Majesty’s Peo-
 “ ple.”

IN 1723, the Lords and Commons interposed in
 Behalf of their Country, to save it from impend-
 ing Ruin; and represented to the Crown against a
 Patent granted to *William Wood*, for coining Half-
 pence. Whilst this Matter was in Agitation, the
 Patentee, (who expected to persuade this Kingdom
 to exchange its Gold for his Brass,) and his Affo-
 ciates, possessed all the Coffee-houses in *London*,
 with a Notion that *Ireland* was throwing off its *De-
 pendancy*; and their Pretence was, that the Patent

so obtained was under the great Seal of *Great-Britain*. This Storm however blew over; the Nation prevailed, and continued under its old *Dependancy*.

I do not recollect that any Occasion offered, to make the Dependancy of *Ireland* a Subject of Discourse afterwards, until 1749: Then there were some Papers published, that tended to create Jealousies between *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; and the Commons were so justly careful, that it should not be even suspected they were generally countenanced, that they thought themselves necessitated to declare in their Address to his Majesty, "That they should, with great Chearfulness, lay hold on every Occasion, which may tend to continue a reciprocal Confidence and Harmony, between his Majesty's common Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and must look, with the highest Indignation, on any audacious Attempt to create a Jealousy between them, or disunite their Affections."

THEY did not yet think they had done that Justice which the Case required, until they had censured the Author of those Papers, merely to shew their Zeal in suppressing every mad Thought of an *Independancy*.

YET, (who could imagine it!) this very House of Commons fell themselves in 1751, under the same *inglorious Reputation, of setting up for an Independancy*; and in Vindication indeed of their Understanding,

ing, as well as their Loyalty, were forced, though unusual, at the latter End of a Session, to transmit an Address to his Majesty, importing;

“ THAT being truly sensible of the many Blessings that arise from the good Harmony, mutual Confidence and Affection of His Majesty’s Subjects of these Kingdoms, and full of Gratitude for the Protection and Support they had at all Times received from the Crown of *Great-Britain*, on the Continuance of which their very Being depended, they should, on all Occasions, exert their utmost Endeavours to cultivate the same good Understanding, and merit the like Support and Protection.

“ THAT any Attempts to create Jealousies between his Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, or to disunite their Affections, can only proceed from the selfish and ambitious Views of designing Men, who have an Interest separate and distinct from that of His Majesty, and of his faithful Subjects of this Kingdom; but that the Commons were ready and determined to maintain and support, to the utmost of their Power, the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty’s Crown and Government, and the united Interests of both His Kingdoms, at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.”

It was strange what could give Occasion for a Report so disadvantageous to the Honour of the Commons; and yet it is certain, that Letters by every

every Packet about that Time from *England*, spoke of the Representatives of *Ireland* and their Constituents, by the Influence of the Representatives, as ripe for *Rebellion*; and that this was the Foundation of the recited Address.

It is undoubted, that a House of Commons never acted more quietly or dispassionately, or indeed submissively: They not only passed the Bill, with that Preamble that hath since given them so much Disturbance, without Hesitation; but they dropt silently the Linen-Bill that was altered; though it much alarmed, being the first Alteration of the Sort made in a Linen-Bill since that Trade was guarantee'd to them solemnly by the whole Parliament of *England* before the Union: Indeed, they enquired into an abused Vote of Credit; they adjourned a certain Committee for a Week, instead of twenty four Hours; and they ordered a Call of the House to keep it full.

SURELY none of those could be called *Rebellious* Acts; yet I defy their most malicious Enemies to produce any other.

THE late Session was short, but busy: Elections cannot directly relate to *Government* or *England*. The two Points therefore that have the *Rebellious* Taint (if any have) must be *the Censure of a late Officer of the Crown*; or *the rejecting the Money-Bill*. The first, no Body publicly condemns; the last must stand upon its own Bottom: If there be in the foregoing Account of that Matter suffici-

cient Argument, even to induce any Man to think the Majority was in the Right, then cannot the Majority be blamed for exercising a Negative, *which the Constitution bath given them.*

UPON the whole, it cannot with any Justice or Colour of Reason, be laid to their Charge, that their Actions tend by any Means to *alienate the Affections of the Subjects from the Crown*, or to disunite the People of the two Kingdoms. These are only the Insinuations of Persons who hate them, because they cannot conquer them; and who would at any Rate procure for themselves potent Auxiliaries. But these Insinuations will never meet with Credit from Persons who know their own Strength, and the Dependance the People, thus misrepresented, have upon it, for the Enjoyment of their Property, and the Continuance of their Trade. They are neither Fools nor Madmen, and they must be one or other, to fly in the Faces of their Benefactors, from whom they have derived all the Good they possess.

THE *Irish Protestants* detest the very Thoughts of *Rebellion*. Some Constitutions may be prone to it; and then it matters not whether they be *pampered* or *starved*: *Pampering* will produce Pride and Wantoness; *Starving* will produce Discontent and Greediness; and either will bring forth *Rebellion*. But the Plant will not grow where the Seed is not sown. The *Babes* in IRELAND learn to lisp the GLORIOUS AND IMMORTAL MEMORY OF KING WILLIAM; the *Young Men* have imprinted
on

on their tender Minds, that the HANOVER SUCCESSION was the *Fruit* of all his Toil and Battles, and will be an everlasting Monument of his *Fame*; and the Females are all Heroines in the same Glorious Cause.

If *Resistance* be *Rebellion*, *Irish Protestants* have been *Rebels*. They were *Rebels* to King JAMES, and they were resolved to be *Rebels* in the latter Days of QUEEN ANN, if there had been Occasion to draw their Swords, in Support of the HANOVER SUCCESSION.

BUT Resistance is over. The HANOVER-SUCCESSION hath, God be praised, taken firm Root, in Spight of two wicked Rebellions, and many villainous Conspiracies; and the *Liberty* of the Subject grows every Day more secure. We have now nothing more to hope for, but that HIS PRESENT MAJESTY may very long wear the Crown of GREAT-BRITAIN, to which that of IRELAND is *inseparably annexed*, and that it may be PERPETUATED IN HIS ROYAL HOUSE.

217 149

F I N I S.

and the females are all females in the same class
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F I N I S

A

LETTER

FROM

DIONYSIUS

To the Renowned

TRIUMVIRATE.

They are hatching some Mischief.



DUBLIN:

Printed for PETER WILSON, in Dame-street,
M DCC LIV.

LETTERS

FROM

DIONYSIUS

To the Honorable

TRIUMVIRATE



DURIN

Printed for Peter Wilson in Dublin

MDCCLIV

LETTER, &c.

START not at my Name, you formidable *Champions against the Patriots of IRELAND* : I have not *risen from the Dead*. Such an one might indeed *affright*, but could not *convince* you : And well for you he could not ; for Conviction, you are persuaded, would ruin you. But recollect, and you will clearly perceive, that you might ever write on at the same rate, though you were thoroughly convinced.

I AM well known in the political World : I am as much respected in the Region of party-colour'd Gentry, as the *Trunk-maker* was heretofore in the Theatre ; and, in all Places I resort, am called a *faithful Irishman* ; so that you cannot get Dishonour, by entering the Lists with me : It is some Condescension in me, in your present Circumstances, to take a Turn with either of you.

To be more particular in the Description of myself ; I am, and have been, long in the Family of the *Vindicator of the Proceeding of the Honourable House of Commons*, &c. and could I conveniently let you

into the several Branches of my Office, which arise from the Confidence my Master daily places in me, you would be tempted to give me the Name of *Scrub* instead of that of *Dionysius*.

ONE Branch of my Office, however, I must acquaint you with ; that is, to buy every Print that appears in the Street, (for herein consists my Master's Extravagance) and to peruse them all carefully, (which indeed is an ample Punishment for all my Sins) and to lay before my Master those which strike me as fit for his Inspection ; but to conceal the rest, that his Time may not be misemployed, in an Examination of Works, neither of publick nor private Use.

THIS Duty imposed upon me hath made me acquainted with *A third Letter to the Publick—An Answer to the Proceeding, &c. so far as the same relates to the Considerations, &c.*—and, *An Answer to Part of a Pamphlet, intitled, The Proceeding, &c. by the Author of the Observations, &c.*—which I have most faithfully with-held from the Perusal of my Master ; being very unworthy Returns for the Pains he took to *inform you*, with all others, who needed Instruction upon the Subject.

BUT it is not enough that I have acted thus : I know you will be much disappointed, if you cannot provoke my Master to write more, and to keep you employed ; you will fancy, nay, you will report, that you have given such a stunning Blow, that he cannot quickly recover his Senses. I must therefore let you know, that your Performances were too mean to be admitted into his Presence, when I, in the Anti-chamber, could effectually confute what you do not confute one another in.

It makes me very uneasy to see how differently you express yourselves about the *Vindication*, according

according to the different Effects it hath upon your several Passions.

THE Town generally saith, it is cool and dispassionate;—you, Mr. *Letter-writer*, say, Page 16, *That the Author is very angry*; and again, Page 17, “That he appears in an angry Mood from his first setting out, to the Conclusion of his Paper.

You, Mr. *Considerer*, say thus, Page 5, “To say nothing of his personal Invectives, which are indeed too low.”

BUT you, Mr. *Observer*, talking of the Struggle that the *Vindicator* hath made, to keep to himself and his *Associates* certain respected Titles, say, “That this hath been hitherto done, by poisoning the Minds of uninform’d People, with most indecent and ill-grounded *Invectives*. But now, that he is brought into a cool Method of Reasoning, the Question must be left to the Decision of unprejudiced Readers.”

I pray you to settle this Matter amongst yourselves; for it was impossible he could be *angry* and a *cool Reasoner*; that he could have *refrained from Invectives*, and have made use of *very low ones* at one and the same Instant.

THERE is a surprising Mistake in the *Triumvirate* about this Matter, which I cannot take upon me to rectify. However, this I must observe, that they all concurred, in finding Fault at one time or other, though they could not agree in the Point.

HAVING so far addressed you *jointly*, I must now take you *separately* in the order you step’d into the World.

THE LETTER-WRITER first made his Appearance in a most dreadful Fury, for the Contempt with which he had been treated; and I cannot but say, he had good Reason to be outrageous; for he was indeed treated with infinite Contempt, when he was sen-

tenced to be chastis'd, by the *Considerations* and *Observations*.

BUT, poor Man ! he hath, as angry Men commonly do, given my *Master* every Advantage over him he could wish for.

HE charges, Page 15, the *Vindicator*, with saying, " That he (the *Letter-writer*) very precipitately declared, that our unhappy Disputes have been, not about *Essentials*, but merely upon *Forms* and *Ceremonies*."

AND from thence to the End of the 16th Page, he hath most ingeniously laboured to prove, and at length with great Clearness shewed to a Demonstration, that he did by fair Argument, and from a Concatenation of Causes, draw this Conclusion, " That the Disputes were not about *Essentials*, but merely upon *Forms* and *Ceremonies*."—I must confess he hath fairly overthrown the Charge of *Precipitancy*; for he proved himself to be a very *slow* Reasoner : And so I must take the Liberty to leave him where I found him.

THE CONSIDERER next advanced, not one Whiff less angry than the LETTER-WRITER ; but being constitutionally more phlegmatick, did not so suddenly run himself off his Speed.

HE, Page 5, with great Resentment, charges my *Master*, with giving him foul Usage, " by blending and perplexing his Arguments, with those of others, with whom he was in no Connection ; and whose Pamphlets he had not seen or heard of, until they were in Print."

I BELIEVE my *Master*, if he were acquainted with this Matter, would find it pretty difficult to contrive an Apology for this Author. All that ought to be said upon the Occasion is, that the LETTER-WRITER, who appears to be a pretty Scholar, very conversant in his favourite Author ;
and

and the OBSERVATOR, who is as expert in Figures, as any *Hocus-Pocus* Doctor with *Cups and Ball*, are made his Companions. If they are ashamed of one another, who can help it? The Readers think much alike of them all.

THE CONSIDERER will see, what a Hurry the LETTER-WRITER was thrown into, by being put under the *Discipline* of his *Friends*, the CONSIDERATIONS and OBSERVATIONS; how he flung about, and endangered every Body near him, for being put into so glaring a Light; and he may see, what Pains the OBSERVATOR hath taken, Page 3, at setting out, to establish an Opinion, that he had not any Acquaintance with the CONSIDERER. If the *Vindicator* should presume to make an Apology to either, he certainly may expect, to bring the others upon his Back; and therefore must wait, until they agree amongst themselves, which deserves the Preference.

I cannot however but observe, Mr. CONSIDERER, that you vastly exceed your Brethren in *Modesty*; for where you will not pretend to say, *you are not vanquished*, you are decently silent. Thus you have fairly given up the Precedent of 1749: To be sure, you mean not more to trouble the World with an unprofitable Criticism about *Consent* and *Intention*; and you are without Doubt ashamed of that simple Observation, *that the Attorney-General made the Motion*; and of the foolish Apology, that you formerly made for his Majesty's Servants *not inserting originally the Word CONSENT*.

BUT why were you not explicit about the Objection, *that the Recital was inserted in Great-Britain*? It was not enough to be silent about this, as you knew in your Conscience that Argument was never made Use of, you should have

been honest enough effectually to Disarm the *mischievous Enemies* of this Country.

You have indeed relinquished all the Precedents you formerly so vehemently relied upon, for which I give you Credit. But then you must take Notice, that your Readers are hereby taught, not entirely to depend upon your peremptory Decisions.

EXPLAIN for your Readers the following Words in Page 4, 5. of your *Answer*. " Therefore he " (the CONSIDERER) must say, that the Writer " of the *Vindication* betrays a Want of Candour, as " well as a Diffidence in his Abilities to defend the " Cause he hath engaged in, when he endeavours " to stop a Search after Truth, by introducing the " Name of that Body (the House of COMMONS) " into the Debate, in the Manner he hath, more " than once, done in the Course of his Argument."

I believe, whoever reads this will think the Author thereof was confoundedly frightened: But pluck up your Spirits, Mr. CONSIDERER, you have stroked the COMMONS in the preceding Paragraph, " wherein you hope you have kept clear of offending an important Body, for whose *Constitutional Rights*, no one can have a higher, or more just " Respect."

I wish indeed you had not distinguished these Words *Constitutional Rights* by Italicks, by which you seem to Hint, that they claim some Rights not altogether *Constitutional*; and that you reserve to yourself a Power of expounding your Words hereafter, either for or against them, as Occasion shall offer, or they shall be *up* or *down*: If they should take that into their Heads, it may go ill with you. But as your *Intention*, you say, was not to *offend* them, the best your Friends can expect is, that you
may

may be *overlooked* ; since the COMMONS never can submit their *Rights* or *Privileges* to be discussed by *Lawyers*, or to be determined by *Judges* of inferior Courts.

BUT be so Kind as to Point out, how my *Master* could *vindicate the Commons*, without bringing the *Name of that Body into the Debate*. He hath said indeed, " that there were sundry Pamphlets, little " better than *Libels* against the *Commons*, against " the *Constitution*, and against *Truth*, at a great Ex- " pence, and in a Manner unusual in this Kingdom, " put into the Hands of all who would accept of " them, from the Capital to the remotest Corner " of the Nation."

CAN this be denied ? If you doubt it, look into *your own Considerations*, the *Observations*, the *three Letters to the Publick*, and, above all, into the curious *QUERIES impudently addressed to all the serious honest and well-meaning People of Ireland*. Who encouraged these Papers ? Who adopted them ? Who patronized them ? Who dispersed them ? Can *Libels* only be on one Side ? Suppose the Majority had happened to be on the other Side on the ever *Memorable 17th of December* ; would not the *Commons* have been a most respectable Body of People ? Has not the Majority been hourly *abused* by *Libellers*, from the Day on which it was fixed, that the Parliament should be prorogued, because they were not on that Side ? Has any one *Printer* or *Publisher* been yet sent to *NEWGATE*, for thus libelling one of the *Estates in Parliament* ?

IF their Advocates cannot punish, allow them to complain. Words will not put you into the Pillory. Do not stop their Mouths, and then say they will not tell Truth. *Truth* is worshipped by every *Lover*

of

of *Liberty*; but it is *prophaned* in the Mouth of a *Slave*.

You have so shuffled the Words APPROPRIATION and APPLICATION, that you have fairly worn out their Meaning; yet I cannot blame you for this, because your Business was to puzzle.

THE whole Dispute arose upon a *Surplus after the Trust was discharged*; for so was the Fact, *when a new Supply was demanded*. It hath been shewn by the *Vindication*, that every Surplus hath been appropriated or *applied*, (take which Word you like,) to the *current* Service of the *Publick*, or to the *publick* Service, (chuse also whichsoever Expression you like best in this Place) and that therefore the *Commons* could not, without betraying the *Rights*, which were intrusted to their Care, and without totally changing, nay subverting the *regular Proceeding in Parliament*, solemnly allow, that they could not even propose the *Application* of a *Surplus*, which they had ever done, without the *previous Consent of the Crown*.

It is possible learned Men may be able to construe Things so, as to make them unintelligible to plain natural Reason. It must be so, or there could not arise so many Difficulties in the *Scripture*; I mean in the Explanation of the *Scripture*; for there are truly none in the *Scripture*.

Now give me leave, without one Scrap of Learning more than what I have picked up accidentally, (of which I dare not make Use, lest I should misapply it, as my Betters often do;) to say, that if the History of this Affair in the *Vindication* be true, and *that hath not been disputed*, the *Commons* have an inherent Right, to apply every Surplus, after the Ends of Government are answered, within the Term for which the Supply was granted; and that therefore

therefore, all that is said about the Right of *Application* in the intermediate Time, is an Evasion of the Point in Dispute, and nothing at all to the Purpose. Therefore, Mr. CONSIDERER, give me leave without Offence, to charge you with the going beside the true Question, and making Use of your two beloved Words, APPROPRIATION and APPLICATION, as old Women mumble Charms over Children, under Pretence of curing the Worms, but in Truth, *to cheat the Parents of their Money.*

I am sure you will be astonished at my *great Knowledge* in this Matter, and be curious to know how I came by it. To gratify your Curiosity, I must inform you, that I am one of the many Politicians made by the late active Winter; and that I scorn to draw Learning from any Place but the Fountain-Head; and the Fountain-Head indeed I applied to: For very early I contracted an Acquaintance with one of the Servants, belonging to the House of *Commons*, who permitted me, in Disguise, to stand within the Door, where I learned all I know of the Matter; and I do now most heartily Wish, you had gone to the same School, for your own Improvement, and the *Quiet of the Publick.*

HOWEVER, though you have disturbed Men's Minds not a little; you have made some Amends, by exhibiting the prettiest Method of replying that ever was invented: Such an One as will excellently serve all whimsical or absurd Authors, who shall succeed you. It is so entertaining, that it cannot fail to please a Reader.

WHEN your main Argument is turned Topsy-Turvy, then you charge your Antagonist with Equivocation, put two Meanings upon his Words, chuse that which is least obvious, but most apt for
your

your Purpose, and down you lay him at your Feet.—Excellent and Stout.

WHEN you find your Antagonist hath clearly proved, that you either knew nothing of the Matter, or wilfully concealed the Strength of the Argument, you take as much Merit to yourself, allowing there is no *very essential Difference* between you.—Truly ingenuous !

WHEN great Labour is used, to shew your Proofs from History to be False or Impertinent, and that is demonstrated ; then you make a new State of the Case, against which your Adversary could not provide ; and tell him, *he might have spared the unnecessary Pains he hath taken* : And thus you ingeniously give him a Go-by.—Very Honest !

WHEN your Adversary thinks he hath fully answered all your Objections, you at once dash his Hopes to Pieces, and destroy the Force of every thing he hath said, by looking big, and positively assuring your Readers, that *he hath attempted, but in vain, to answer*.—Wondrously modest !

FACTS are nothing in your Way. *His* you deny, by affirming the *contrary to be true*. *Your own* you establish by asserting them to be *Facts*.

PRECEDENTS, the stronger they happen to be, so much the worse for them ; for you prove, with a clearness peculiar to yourself, that they *proving too much, are good for nothing*.

THE whole you finish, by affirming in Capitals, that you are UNANSWERED, and thus the Piece is rendered compleat.

HAPPY Man ! who hath discovered so easy a Road to Fame, by being for ever invincible.

IN the third Place, I must address my self to the OBSERVATOR, *an incorrigible old Sinner*, who deals much in Facts, and obstinately, without pretending to the Cloak of Modesty, adheres to them, though they have been confuted by Friends and Foes.

INDEED, Mr. OBSERVATOR, I cannot wonder at any Thing you say; but however, for your own sake you should have a little Caution, and not point out directly to the very Spot wherein your Guilt appears in its strongest Colours. In what Part of the 35th Page of the VINDICATION, doth the Author *disclaim all Pretence to the sole Right of drawing up Heads of Money-Bills*, as you assert he doth, in Page 5, of your Answer. He there denies indeed, that *the sole Right of having Money-Bills take their Rise in the House of Commons*, was, as you falsely asserted, in your Observations, an Argument for throwing out the Money-Bill. He meddles not farther with the Affair. He had no Occasion to insist upon it; for it was not in Dispute: And he had acted imprudently, if he had disclaimed it, when the CONSIDERATIONS, that were published by Authority, and dispersed FOR HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE, had expressly, Page 33, *admitted the Right of granting Money to be in the Commons*: And however jealous you may be of the Author, or he of you, you dare not dispute his Doctrine, nor has he *disavowed* it. But your Charge in this Place against the VINDICATOR is but a Peccadillo, compared with what is to come.

IN the Account you give, Mr. OBSERVATOR, of the Bill in 1749, Pages 6, 7, 8, you are big with Misrepresentation; but this Matter having been already fully discussed between the CONSIDERATIONS and the VINDICATION, and at length having been given up by the CONSIDERATIONS, fully
lenly

lenly enough ; it is not worth while, to revive it at your Instance. It will be enough to fix my Finger upon the Point, in which you and your Friend, Mr. CONSIDERER, woefully disagree.—Page 8, you say, “ In Consequence whereof, (that is of “ imaginary Messages, &c.) the Words agreeably “ to his Majesty’s most gracious Intentions, were inserted, in the Heads of the Bill, as most expressive “ of his Majesty’s previous Consent, and of the “ Manner of obtaining thereof; and it is now very “ well known, that if the Terms on which his Majesty’s previous Consent was given, had not been “ complied with, as it was cheerfully, and in a most “ remarkable Manner, by those who applied to the “ Lord Lieutenant on this Occasion, the Bill for “ Payment of Part of the Loan-Debt, would not “ have been then passed into a Law, without “ Words being inserted either here or in Great- “ Britain, for the Support of his Majesty’s Prerogative and Dignity.”

Now, Mr. OBSERVATOR, attend with Patience, to see yourself brought to Shame by the CONSIDERER, with whom you dare not contend; for he struts under the Cloak of Power, with which I am sure you will not strive.

PAGE 7 of the CONSIDERATIONS, the Author speaking of this very Point, saith, “ As the Occasion “ was new, it is not to be wondered at, that the Gentlemen who conducted the Affair, on this Side of “ the Water, should not be exact as to the Form “ in which his Majesty’s Consent ought to appear: “ And probably, they apprehended that the Return “ of a Bill for that Purpose, under the Great Seal “ of Great Britain, would be a sufficient Notification “ of his Majesty’s previous Consent to such Application. Again, Page 9, he saith, “ But as that “ Recital, (agreeably to your Majesty’s most gracious “ Intentions)

“ *Intentions*) though it seems strongly to imply his
 “ Majesty’s *previous Consent*, had not clearly and
 “ explicitly expressed the same, and not having
 “ done so, might occasion future Cavils on that
 “ Head; it is said (and I presume the Fact is
 “ well known to be true) that Objections were made
 “ to this Bill, on that Account, by those to whom
 “ it was, as usual, referred in *Great-Britain*. How
 “ it happened, that his Majesty’s *Consent* was not
 “ by them, at that Time, inserted, may I think be
 “ fairly accounted for; as the Omission on this Side,
 “ seemed to have been occasioned merely by the
 “ Novelty of the Case, without any Intention of
 “ questioning the King’s Right, &c.”

If thou hast one blush about thee, let it out,
 MR. OBSERVATOR, at being thus exposed by thy
Fellow-Labourer.

BUT, I fear, it is too late, to call for Marks of
 Contrition. Thy OBSERVATIONS warranted a Sus-
 picion that you were mistaken in every Article;
 but thy *Defence* of those *Observations*, in a *pretended*
 ANSWER to the VINDICATION, shews clearly, that
 you cannot shelter yourself under that Apology of
 being mistaken; nay, that you scorn to be screened.
 You are grown callous, and resolved to *brazen* it
 out in the Face of the World. Thus, Page 9, you
 insist, that your Affirmation in the OBSERVATIONS,
 “ That one Argument employed for rejecting of
 “ the Bill, was raised on the Pretence of the *sole*
 “ Right of having Money-Bills take their Rise in
 “ the House of Commons, and that no Alteration
 “ should be made in those Bills, after they are pre-
 “ pared by the House”, is TRUE, and that you never
 have an evil Design in what you write.—What
 could prompt you to persist in such a Fib, but a
 wicked Design against this Country? It is evident,
 the Tale was not calculated for this Meridian; be-
 cause

cause it is here universally known to be false. The Minority of *December 17*, to a Man, could confute you; the Author of the *CONSIDERATIONS*, (and his Authority is so far out of all Question) Page 20, declares, "He could not suppose it could be so," and in his Answer, *though he was called upon to be explicit, is fully silent*, which with him is a *Knocking-under*. But you have, doubtless, made a Merit of this Matter elsewhere, and chuse to hazard your Reputation, rather than to retract. Some you hope will still believe you; and therefore you will not give up, by an open Confession. But even those you must lose, when they find out, that your Friend, the *Principal Advocate* for your Party, hath given you up.

IN Page 10, you say, "that the Inference drawn by the *VINDICATOR*, Page 72, is all his own, and no way warranted by the *Observations*".

WONDROUS Effrontery! turn to Page 22 of the *Observations*, and read these Words and Figures, "The Debt of the Nation at *Lady-day 1745*, £ 258517 10 6—" and this Observation immediately following, "But it appears, that the Nation paid Interest for £ 335000."—Again: Turn to Page 23, where this Observation will stare you full in the Face, "That it was somewhat extraordinary, that an additional Loan should be made of £ 70000 at this Time, when so large a Sum of Money as 71947 was allowed to be due to the Nation (abstracted from the former Loans) after answering all the Demands on Account of the Establishments, and all other Charges whatsoever to the 25th of *March 1745*, and that it is well known that a considerable Arrear is constantly due on these Articles."

To

Do not these several *Observations* well warrant the Inference drawn by the *Vindication* for the *Observations*, Page 72. " That it is extraordinary, that
 " the Nation should be reported, to be in Debt but
 " two hundred and fifty-eight thousand, five hundred and seventeen Pounds, ten Shillings and
 " six pence ; and should, if it had a Power over
 " the Surplus, without the PREVIOUS CONSENT of
 " the Crown, pay at the same Time Interest for
 " so much a greater Sum ; and not only submit
 " to this Hardship, but also raise a farther Sum of
 " seventy thousand Pounds at Interest.

CAN any other Meaning be put upon these *OBSERVATIONS*? If there can, why did not the *OBSERVATOR* shew his Skill, and draw another more natural, and more agreeable to his Intention. He best knew, if there was any such : And as he hath not favoured us with another, we must be content with that we have, though it unhappily exposes his *bad Heart*.

THE Method you have taken to prove, that the *Vindicator* hath mistated the Fact, when he affirmed, " That the Troops of this Country were carried to the Assistance of *England* ; and that therefore the Difference could not be called a *saving*, &c." is singularly merry. For you prove it, by shewing, that there were drawn out of the Kingdom, *one Regiment of Horse, two Regiments of Dragoons, and fourteen Regiments of Foot*. Indeed, you say, " That in order to keep up our Troops to the full Complement of 12000 Men, the Regiments which remained in *Ireland*, were increased in Numbers by the Addition of private Men, and a few Officers." Even this is not true. The *Vindicator's* Remarks are general, upon the fluctuating Condition of the Army during the whole War ; and it cannot be forgotten, that in 1745, the Army

B

was

was so small, the Foot consisting of four Regiments only of 1400 Men each, that it was thought necessary by some Gentlemen, to move in Parliament, for an Address to his Majesty, to raise 4000 Foot, for the Security of the Kingdom.

You have not denied, that instead of one Farthing of your *boasted Saving* being in the Treasury, the Nation really contracted a Debt between 1741 and 1747, of £ 38939 6 11. Your new jesuitical Expedient to impose upon your Readers, and to keep up the Credit of your Saving, is indeed a Master-piece, " That if there had not been those " Savings, the Debt would have been in that Time " £437133 17 1, instead of £38939 6 11." What, think you it was a Favour, not to lay out Money, voted for a certain Establishment, when that Establishment did not exist? A wretched Minister of State would you make indeed, if such were to be your *Œconomy*. It would be kind, if you would in your Recantation, which, if you have any Candour left, you must soon make, observe for the *Vindicator*, *That if there was not Provision made in one Session for a larger Establishment, than continued to the other Session, there could not be a Saving, even in your way of computing*; and thus you will give his Argument against you its just Force.

I HAVE very little Skill in Figures, just as much as I have acquired merely to keep some minute Accounts in the Family; yet I am able, by the Aid of an undesigning Understanding, free from Art or Cunning, to detect a *new Fallacy*, surprizing only, as it was unnecessary.

To explain the Thing fully, I must first quote your *Inference*, before I examine your *Juggle*, that you may not have a Subterfuge left.

PAGE 27, you say; " Thus I have stated the " Supplies voted, and the Produce of the Aids " granted

“ granted, from *Lady-day* 1739 to *Lady-day* 1749 :
 “ And it fully appears that the Produce of the Aids
 “ hath always fallen short of the Supplies. The Rea-
 “ der may perceive that there has been some Increase
 “ in the Produce of the Aids, but as this Increase
 “ did not enable them to answer the Supplies for
 “ which they were granted to the Crown ; so we
 “ may conclude that the Redundant Money in the
 “ Treasury at *Lady-day* 1749, did not arise from
 “ Exceedings in the Aids, as some would vainly
 “ imagine. We must therefore look out for some
 “ other Source of this Redundancy.”

“ THE Increase of the Hereditary Revenue has
 “ contributed thereto, and that in a treble Propor-
 “ tion, to what the Increase in the additional Du-
 “ ties has done ; but the chief Source of this Re-
 “ dundancy has been the Savings in the Civil List,
 “ and Military Establishment.

You are, I think, fairly beaten out of your *For-
 tress*, called *Savings*, and therefore I shall have no
 more Words with you upon that Subject. And in-
 deed you begun to suspect that this was not tenable,
 and therefore you provided another *Place of Force* to
 retire to ; viz. *the treble Proportion of the Increase of*
the Hereditary Revenue. But this must also now fall into
 the Hands of the Conqueror ; as soon as it is recol-
 lected, *that the Additional Duties are given but in Aid*
of the Hereditary Revenue ; and that not a Penny of
the Hereditary Revenue can ever be justly called a
Redundancy, if the Publick Services call for the Appli-
cation of any Part of the Additional Duties ; for the
Principal must be consumed, before the Aid can be
wanted.

Now, to shew clearly the *honest* Manner in which
 you state the Supplies voted, and the Produce of
 the Aids granted ; and how *fairly* you prove that
 the Produce of the Aids hath always fallen Short of

the Supplies, I will examine the particular *Æra* of 1743, having procured the necessary Information for that Period, and that will serve for all; there being no other Variation in the several Instances, than what arises from the different Ballances.

PAGE 22, you say, the Debt of the Nation at *Lady-day* 1743 was voted, to be a Sum, not exceeding 331,440*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and that the Supply granted toward Payment of the said Debt, &c. was a Sum not exceeding 521906*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* from whence you deduct 9742*l.* granted by Parliament, and then the Supply remaining is 512,164*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THEN you proceed to shew how the Account for the two Years turned out.

Nett Produce of Additional Duties and Poundage — — —	280,256	4	7
Deduct a Deficiency in the Fund for Interest — — —	2873	15	10
And Payments made by Virtue of King's Letters, &c. not included in the Estimate for Supply — — —	59,074	0	1
	61948	4	11
Remains	218307	19	8
Which falls short of the Supply granted in the Year 1743 by	293856	10	10

PERHAPS

PERHAPS a fouler *Fraud* never was attempted to be imposed upon Mankind than this appears to be, even upon the Face of this Account: For herein is confessed, that there was a Fund provided for the Payment of an Interest for a certain Principal, and yet the Principal is not separated, as fairly it ought, from the Total of the Supply.

THE Debt to bear Interest was a Sum of 327,590*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* which being deducted from the Total of the Supply, there remained but 184,573*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* for the Support of the Establishment; so that in Truth, the additional Duties, (allowing also for the Article deficient in the Fund for Interest,) produced 92,808*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* more than they were granted for. You may out of this, if you please, deduct 59,074*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* paid, by Virtue of King's Letters, &c. and you will find a Redundancy of 33,734*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* belonging to the Nation, instead of a Deficiency of 293,856*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

WHAT could provoke you to give this additional Instance of your Disingenuity, when you had declared, Page 19, *that there was no Need to dwell longer upon the Point, since it is now finally determined, by his Majesty's. ordering the Payment of the Debt out of the Money remaining in his Treasury?* Was it only to shew, that you had an inexhaustible Fund of *Misrepresentation* about you? You need not have taken the Trouble, we were all ready to acknowledge your great Abilities in that Way. Some have reasoned ill; others have failed in Exactness, as to Fact. But you have outstripp'd them all. In your whole Operation, you have not produced one tolerable Reason, or one true State of any Transaction.

IN one of the weekly Papers I observed two Lines, which I must borrow upon this Occasion.

The Wretch that often has deceiv'd ;
Though Truth he speaks, is ne'er believ'd.

THUS have I taken you to Task separately ; do not be Angry, that I put you once more together ; I doubt not but by this Time, you dislike one another ; but if each of you will but observe the Figure he cuts in the *Groupe*, he will be the easier reconciled to his Company.

IN your joint State then, let me ask you what provoked you to enter into a Controversy, that was so eminently Superior to your Capacities ? If I knew you, I could without Delay or Difficulty discover your Motives : But truly you are not amongst my Acquaintance ; and yet you must be of very low Degree. But the lowest of my Companions admires Virtue ; and honours the Man, who acts upon virtuous Principles, whether he be or be not Successful.

HAD you Property, had you Children, had you Friends, or had you from any Cause, a Love for this Kingdom, you would have contributed to have raised Friends for it, not have laboured to create Enemies ; not only to create Enemies, but to make *bitter Enemies* of the *best Friends*.

SUPPOSE the *Majority of the COMMONS* had erred ; and erred in a Point of Interest, wherein the *Crown*, or *Great-Britain*, was materially concerned, and was prejudicially affected : Would not a good Man throw a Veil over the Fault ? Would an honest Man aggravate it ? Would a charitable Man expose innocent Millions to a Resentment, that

that might produce Ruin ; because he or his Party were outvoted ?

IF these Things be so, then have you forfeited all Title to the amiable Characters of Honesty, Goodness or Charity : For you have exposed all our Infirmities ; you have aggravated our Faults ; and you have endeavoured to rouse the Lion to Anger—And indeed it would be no great Matter, if you only were to be the Victims.

WHAT Profit could all your Writings produce, if they were the wisest upon Earth, when the Question to which they relate, is like never to arise more ? What but Disappointment, unforgiving, malicious Disappointment, could stir Men up to appeal to Persons, who could not change the Judgment, but might, through Misinformation, conceive a hurtful Opinion of those who gave it ? Consider these Things well, and reform before it be too late : It will recommend me much hereafter, if I can bring about the Repentance of three such Sinners : *Sinners*, who are at present like *Swearers*, in Danger of Damnation, for a Crime, that hath in it neither *Pleasure* or *Profit*.

PERMIT me, through you, to convey one Word to the HABERDASHER of SMALL WARE, who made his Appearance last Week. I have his Work now *under Perusal*, but have not yet determined, whether I shall or shall not lay it before my *Master*. But lest he should, in a Hurry, send Abroad more of his *Small Ware*, before I have well examined his former Cargoe, I must give him some Advice for his Conduct. Indeed, it would be well, if he drop'd all Thoughts of meddling with *Politicks*. They are not his Profession, and are above his Comprehension. But if he will not be advised in this Point, bid him not *Dimmock-like* to throw down a *Gauntlet*, which he is very sure will not be taken up.

up. I have read in a great Book of Travels, that lies in our Hall, that in *China*, the *Mandarins* are obliged daily to throw into a Chest, by a Hole in the Lid, their Observations on Publick Transactions; when the *Emperor* dies, the Chest is opened, and out of the Papers found therein, his History is composed. *A Word to the Wise.*

DIONYSIUS.

F I N I S.



P A T R I O T

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12

Q U E R I E S,

O C C A S I O N E D

By a late LIBEL, entitled, *QUERIES*
to the PEOPLE of IRELAND.

To which is added, A

L E T T E R

To the Author of them.

By another Hand.

Printed by *Hugh De Lacy*, at *William the Conqueror's*
Head, in *Normond-Lane*.

P A T R I O T

QUERIES

OCCASIONED

By a late LIBEL, entitled, *QUERIES*
to the PEOPLE of IRELAND.

To which is added, A

LETTER

To the Author of them.



Printed by Messrs De La Rue, at Westminster the Conductor's
Head, in Warwick Lane.

PATRIOT QUERIES.

1. **W**HETHER the Constitutions of *England* and *Ireland* are so essentially different, as to make the one Nation free, and the other Slaves?

2. Whether such Opposition to the Measures of the Ministry, as deserve the Name of Patriotism in the one, can, with any Propriety, be termed Faction in the other?

3. Have not Feuds and Divisions, generally speaking, the same Effects in all Countries? And will not the Removal of the Cause, remove the Effect?

4. Whether a Colony of *Romans*, wheresoever settled, were considered as a conquered Province, or did not enjoy all the Privileges of *Romans*?

5. Whether the present Inhabitants of *Ireland*, who are really *English*, ought not to enjoy all the Privileges of *Englishmen*? And whether the divesting them of these Privileges, hath not a manifest Tendency to alienate the Affections of the most loyal Subjects, from the best of Kings?

6. Can *Ireland* prosper or flourish, but under the Protection of his Majesty? And what doth the Person deserve, that would represent them as unworthy of that Protection?

7. Is an Estate, vested in Trustees for certain Uses, their own proper Estate, or ought it not to revert to the Trustee, when the Uses of the Trust are answered?

8. If I mortgage my Estate for the Payment of a Debt, must I consider it as a Gift, if the Mortgagee restores my Estate when his Debt is paid?

9. If the Mortgagee insisted upon my Acknowledgment of the Gift in the reconveyance of the Estate, would it not be thought very extraordinary, or would any Man of common Sense or Prudence submit to it?

10. In this Case, would not every Person, conversant in Law or Equity, exclaim against such Behaviour, and advise his Client not to submit to it?

11. Whether saying that it was only a Dispute about Words, would justify the Mortgagee for insisting upon having them inserted?

12. Whether a Person, who has bought very good Meat, hath not a Right to have it dressed according to his own Taste?

13. Whether what hath already been offered in Answer to *Considerations*, &c. be not sufficient to convince all unprejudiced Persons, that the Nation was right in rejecting the late Money-Bill? And whether the P—— would not have been guilty of a scandalous Breach of Trust, had they passed the same?

14. Whether a Majority of five Voices be not sufficient to determine the Sense of the Nation, when confirmed by Addresses of Thanks from almost every County and Borough in the Nation?

15. Whether Men, who through a long Course of Conduct have shewn themselves incapable of being corrupted, of swerving from the Lines of Duty, or Measures of Right, can reasonably be supposed now to act from a corrupt Principle?

16. Whether this be not the true Character of Numbers, who voted against the C—— on the 17th of December 1753?

17. Whether an ignorant young Soldier, giddy with Pride, and intoxicated by Power, be a fit Person to take the Lead in G——?

18. Whether

18. Whether the Man who, in several Instances, had endeavoured to corrupt the Virtue, and debauch the Morals of the Nation, the more effectually to rob it of its most valuable Privileges, ought to be entrusted with any the least Share of Power?

19. Whether one remarkable and incontestable Instance to prove this, will not sufficiently justify those who have opposed him? And whether his open and avowed Protection, granted to the Robber and the Pillager of the Nation, and his constant Correspondence with Catamites and Sycophants, is not an Instance in point?

20. Whether any Man is wicked for nothing? And whether the avowed Defender of the Pillager of the Nation, ought not to be considered as a Sharer in the Pillage?

21. Whether a Man, who by his Post is subject to no Check, but that of a weak Father, is not more likely to play Tricks in a wanton Abuse of Power, than he who is responsible for his Conduct to a whole Nation?

22. Though the King is at Liberty to chuse among his Subjects in whom he will repose Confidence, and through what Hands he will dispence his Favours; yet whether the Nation have not a Right to address against wicked Ministers? And whether such Addresses are not pregnant Instances of Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty?

23. Whether if his Majesty's Title to this Kingdom came to be disputed, the Nation would not as one Man rise in Defence of it? Or whether there is a more loyal Nation upon the Face of the Globe, than the People of *Ireland* are to his Majesty King
GEORGE.

24. Whether an Ecclesiastic of mean Birth, the Son of a Jacobite Banker, the Grandson of a Jaylor of *Winchester*, ought not to be suspected for abusing

Power if lodged in his Hands? And whether the G_____ of I_____ ought to be entrusted with such a Person?

25. Whether such a Person ought not always to be suspected of bad Designs, if to his Primeval Meanness, the most detestable Vices are annexed?

26. Whether *Ireland* in such Hands would not probably become a Sink of Corruption?

27. Whether the Appearance of Virtue would not be an effectual Bar to Preferment? And whether the most abandoned Prostitution would not be the only Means of obtaining it?

28. Whether a Man of high Birth, great Fortune, and exalted Virtue, could submit to be joyned in Commission with such a Colleague?

29. As it is notorious that Churchmen have generally made a bad Use of Power, whether it be not good Policy to exclude them from all Share in the Government? And whether all their Motions ought not to be watched, when Power is put into their Hands?

30. Whether a mean Man, raised of a sudden to the highest Elevation, is not more apt to grow giddy, to be haughty, and insolent, and to abuse his Power, than a Person descended from an illustrious Race of Ancestors, and who hath no original Meanness to struggle with, or to warp his Conduct?

31. Whether there ever was a Churchman in this Kingdom intrusted with the highest Power and greatest Confidence our Constitution would admit, who would not have acquitted himself more to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, and have left behind him a Name that would be ever dear and precious among us, had the Exercise of his Power been confined to the Discharge of the Duties of his Archiepiscopal Function?

32. Whether the proper Discharge of the Archiepiscopal Duties, would not require all the Labours of
a good

a good Man? And whether his being immersed in Politicks, will excuse his neglect of his own proper Duty?

33. Whether a Man of suspected Principles, of boundless Ambition, and of the most debauched and retrograde Passions and Appetites, ought to be trusted with any secular Power, especially if his Profession is such as is inconsistent with secular Power?

34. Whether a Person, who hath neither Wife, Child, Wh—e, nor Estate in this Kingdom, can be presumed a proper Person to Govern it?

35. Whether the Man, who has no Relations, Dependants, nor Connexions in this Kingdom, except with Panders, Catamites, and Sycophants, is at all eligible to take the Lead in it; or if he should, who, but the most abandoned, can have Expectations of Preferment?

36. Whether those *Englishmen*, who have been sent into the Vineyard at the eleventh Hour, should run away with the whole Wages, from those who have borne the Heat and Burthen of the Day; who have introduced Arts and Civility into this Kingdom, at the Expence of their Ancestors Blood and Treasure?

37. If it were a fixed Rule that none but Natives were to be Lords Justices, is it not more than probable that the Nation would be the better for it?

38. Is not Popularity, or the contrary, a strong Presumption that a Man has acted a good, or a bad Part?

39. Is not the S—r of the H— of C— the most popular Man in the Nation?

40. Is not some-body else the most unpopular Man in it?

41. Will not the same Cause always produce the same Effect, and the same Virtue produce the same deserved Popularity?

42. Whether the Applause which some Persons, of very high Rank, have so eagerly and so unsuccessfully

courted, be not in the Opinion of all wise Men highly to their Dishonour?

43. Whether there can be a more agreeable Tribute to a good Mind, than the Approbation of all good Men?

44. Whether, when Men are so abandoned as to sell their Country, and to glory in their Shame, it be not a Sign that they are lost to all Sense of Good, greatly infatuated, and ripe for Destruction?

45. Whether it were not adviseable for some Men to study the Limits of their own Understandings, and to proportion their Undertakings to their Abilities?

46. Whether improbable Falshoods (such as, that the Opposition given to the altered Money-Bill proceeded from a Spirit of Disaffection to his Majesty) impudently asserted, should be attributed to ignorance, or Malice?

47. Whether they who retail them are the real Authors of them?

48. Whether Bribery and Corruption were ever so glaring as they have been of late?

49. Whether the Design of these was to make Men virtuous, or to destroy the very Appearance of Virtue among us?

50. Can it be construed libelling, to call a Sharper by his proper Name?

51. Can a certain Priest's greatest Friend say, that his Ambition is not boundless; or his private Vices not abominable?

52. Is not the turning Gentlemen out of their Employments for voting in P——, and threatening others with the same Fate, sufficient to alarm every Man of Spirit in the Nation?

53. Whether the great Pains taken, since last Session of P——, to corrupt the Members, and to throw the Nation into Confusion, be proper Employment

ment for a Churchman, in an exalted Station. And whether the Fault is not too notorious to be denied?

54. Will not the glorious 17th of *December* 1753, be at all Times an undeniable Proof of the Virtue of our House of Commons, and a Demonstration, that the Devil himself, with all his Power, must hide the cloven Foot, or he will not be able to do his Business, nor even to make the Mob hail him?

55. Whether the Subscriptions now carrying on to buy Medals, to perpetuate the Memory of the 17th of *December* 1753, be not a glorious Instance of the Virtue of the City of *Dublin*?

56. Whether such Subscription is not an undeniable Proof of their Attachment to his Majesty's Person and Government, who, as he can never do wrong himself, must be for ever displeased to hear that his Ministers intend to do it?

57. Whether Beef and Claret alone, without Places, Pensions and Promises, could have procured so many Adherents to a bad Cause? And whether all together have not been found ineffectual to support it?

58. Whether by such Expedients a certain Party has not been in a great Measure kept together?

59. Whether Places, Pensions and Promises, are not real Impediments to publick Good, and hinder Multitudes from seeing and acknowledging, what they would see and acknowledge, if those were removed?

60. Whether if a certain great Prelate had been suffered to go on for a while in his own way, he would not have destroyed all the private Virtue we have among us, and unpeopled the Nation, by substituting something else in the Place of Wedlock?

61. Whether certain Ladies have not suspected this, and been for some Time jealous of his Credit with their Husbands?

62. Whether

62. Whether a certain S—— be indeed the Leader, or the Dupe of the P——?

63. Whether it would not be a Proof of his Wisdom and Virtue to disengage himself from him, whilst he has it in his Power to make an honest Retreat?

64. Whether every Man doth not believe in his Conscience, that more pernicious Designs were at this Time carrying on, than had been thought of since L——d S——d's Time? And whether Complaisance upon such an Occasion would not have been unpardonable?

65. Whether if the most pernicious Designs to this Kingdom, and most to the Advantage of the Administrator, had been carrying on, more corrupt Methods could have been taken to carry them into Execution?

66. Whether a Blue Ribband, and a Ducal Coronet, would not have been gladly offered, had not a certain Earl's Virtue been too well known?

67. Whether a *quondam* Patriot would not have continued so, had his Virtue been Proof against Temptation?

68. Whether the old Adage *Cucullus non facit Monachum*, be not too true?

69. Whether the greatest Caution in the Choice of Persons to fill honourable and lucrative Employments, be not absolutely necessary in a Minister of State, who has promised the same Employment to six Persons, without intending to give it to any of them?

70. Whether if the late P—— S——t had been on the side of the Court, C——r P——y would not have been a Patriot, to have the Honour of answering him?

71. Whether Men whose avowed Principle it is to vote for the Person who offers most, can add any Credit to the side which they espouse?

72. Whether

72. Whether a Man can be called Quarrellsome who fights *pro Aris ac focis*, when his All is at Stake?

73. Whether the Question, of the 17th of December 1753, was not of this Nature?

74. Whether the Party may not quickly find Reason to bewail their Conduct? And whether upon a new Election, they will not find the bad Effects of it?

75. Whether it be not better to have Money for some time locked up in a Chest, tho' you should want a Part of it, than to have all taken away without your Consent, and never to return?

76. If Scarcity should succeed Plenty, who are we to thank but those who betrayed the Trust reposed in them by their Constituents?

77. Whether some Men do not prefer a present Bribe to the true Interest of their Country?

78. Whether it be reasonable to expect that the Majority of a House of Commons, will be Bullied by the Minority?

79. When by Riot and Luxury, an Estate is Squandered away, is there no Method of recovering it but by selling our Country?

80. Can any Person be so blind, as not to see that Innovations may be attended with Ruin to a State?

81. Can any other Cause of our Divisions be assigned, than the Rage of Ambition, and the Lust of Power? And must not a Man be wilfully Blind not to see this?

82. Is it not Manifest, that the P——— of the P——— proceeded from the Fear of having things properly represented to his Majesty?

83. Whether any pretence of Conscience, can induce a Man to sell his Country?

84. Whether a Man, who, with a good Conscience, solicited a Place, ought not rather to part with his good Place than his good Conscience?

84. Whe-

85. Whether, tho' the *Cork-Surgeon* cannot Cure a dislocated Member, may he not have *Verba & Voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem possis, & magnam morbi depellere partem?*

86. Whether the Conduct of certain Men in the Year 1749, and in the Year 1753, may not be very consistent?

87. As the Person who intended moving last Session for the Augmentation of the Army's Pay was not suspected of a Design to infringe the King's Prerogative, why shou'd the Gentleman who made the Motion this Session be suspected of Sinister Designs?

88. Can a Motion to encrease the Pay of his Majesty's Army, be construed into Disaffection to his Majesty.

89. Is it possible for the most malevolent Heart, to give an unfavourable Turn, or Colour, to the Proceedings of the present P——t? Let Truth be told, and they can be in no danger of incurring his Majesty's Displeasure; what Misrepresentations may do, is not easy to say.

90. Whether the united Voice of the Nation can be called Faction? Or whether the Minority may be entitled to that Appellation?

91. Whether Prerogative can interfere with the good of a Nation?

92. Whether the Majority wou'd not be as careful of the King's Prerogative, as they are jealous of their own Liberties?

93. Whether any Pamphlet has yet appeared that can warrant a late P——n?

94. Whether every Pamphlet hath not expressed the greatest Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, however free they may have made with some of his Ministers, who deserve no Compliments from this Nation?

95. Whether the profligate Lives, and the horrid and detestable Vices of some Men in very high Stations, is not a sufficient Justification of all that has been said and wrote against them?

96. Whether such Truths can with any Propriety be called Libels?

97. Whether, if any Prosecution shou'd be commenced upon Account of them, Juries are not the sole Judges, as well of the Law, as of the Fact?

98. Whether an Ignorant Judge declaring the contrary, can alter the Case? And whether his asserting it upon a late Occasion, did more than expose his own Ignorance, which was before, but too notorious?

99. Whether ill-timed and undeserv'd Praise be not the severest of all Satires?

100. Whether a petty-fogging stock-jobbing Collier and A—— B——, by his late Promise to *Caipbas*, and by his declaring that he was not guilty of Sodomy, did not hurt him more, than all the Libels that have been published against him?

101. Whether the Author of some late *QUERIES* hath not been the Publisher of more *Scandal*, and of a more notorious *Libel*, than any that has appeared on the other side?

102. Whether his very Performance doth not demonstrate, what that Party would do, if the Virtue of our Patriots afforded the least room for Censure?

103. Whether the Presbyterians in *Ireland*, by their Conduct now and at the Time of the Rebellion, have not shewn the most unshaken Loyalty to his Majesty, and the most steady Adherence to the Liberty and Property of the People?

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143.2

104. Whether such Behaviour must not ever recommend them to all true Lovers of this Kingdom?

105. Whether they ought not, at a future Election, to remember the Services of those worthy Patriots, who have at this Time stood up in Defence of the Liberties of their Country?

106. Whether they will not act a most inconsistent Part, if they suffer themselves to be prevailed upon, either by Threats or by Promises, to vote for those who would at this Time have sold their Country?

107. Whether the late Election for the County of *Armagh*, is not a Proof of what they can do if they stick together?

A LETTER

A
L E T T E R

To the AUTHOR of the

Q U E R I E S.

LETTER

To the AUTHOR of the

QUERIES



2

TO THE

Author of the **QUERIES**

TO THE

PEOPLE of IRELAND.

DEAR SIR,

I beg Leave to congratulate you on making your Appearance once more in Print. I was really apprehensive your Spirit had been in some Sort subdued by a few former Mischances; but with Pleasure I find, I was not deceived in the Opinion I formed of your Genius, at your first setting out; it is really indomitable by private Rebuffs or public Censure. One of a more ordinary Make would by this Time have grown desperate, after being twice

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beaten

beaten from the Literary Field, and failing of Reward from those Patrons, in whose behalf it had plunged into a Scheme of Defence, not to be paralleled in the Records of Party Writing.

With equal Pleasure do I admire your Abilities in varying your Garb, and yet carrying thro' the whole such strong Marks of Identity, that the lowest Understanding must instantly perceive it. Your *Inquiry* shone in all the Brightness of nervous Argumentation and amiable Candor ; Facetiousness and true Humour fixed their Residence in your *Political Pastime* ; and now with Joy must every Lover of Antiquity behold the *Socratic* Purity and Force revived in your irresistible *Queries* : And yet thro' each of these runs such a Consistency with yourself, such an invariable Adherence to the same Set of Sentiments, that the public Delight must be highly raised, and every Eye, not jaundiced with Envy, be charmed with the View. Nothing less can be expected, where *Uniformity* and *Variety*, the two Constituents of Beauty, are so eminently Conspicuous.

The only Consequence I dread, which can in any sort obstruct that Reformation of Principles, which you have so indefatigably laboured to effect, is this ; possessed with too sanguine an Affection for the Interests of your Patrons, you were tempted to undertake a little too much in a former Treatise, for the Purity of their Intentions, and ventured on an unlucky Prophecy or two of some important Events ; now the Sequel has not corresponded with either, as exactly as you and I could wish. The whole Nation is in an Uproar against them, and they are so unfortunate as not to have their large share of Odium, compensated by any Degree of Success, nor has the *Tumble* you engaged for, or any other Part of the Scheme, taken Effect. This, and some other little Matters, will, I fear, throw no great Weight on your
other

other Assertions, or lustre on your Arguments. People will be apt to think you writ at Random, only to scrape Favour with your Patron, and that you were as ignorant of the true National Interest, as indifferent about it's Fate.

However, no Man is exempted from *Faux Paus*, and the wholesomeness of your Doctrines, will, I hope, help you through these little Difficulties. While you continue to inculcate implicit Obedience, propagate the Maxims of Servitude, teach Us that We are but a *beggarly, conquered, dependent Province*, ridicule the Patriots, and abuse the Dissenters, while you so wag-gishly roast the *Country 'Squires*, and make us shake our Sides at your droll Account of the *Faction*, cemented by Beef and Claret, you may rest assured of Applause. This Method you broached in your *Inquiry*, illustrated in your *Pastime*, and now pop upon us in your short, but devilishly staggering *Queries*. I make no doubt but the *Black List* was considerably swelled by Dint of your Reasoning, and am acquainted with many who would implicitly put their Assent into your Hands purely on the strength of your *Latin* Quotations. In short, Dear Doctor, your Powers are so great, that you may write this People into what you please, nor can your Productions fail to delight wherever the *Considerations on the Money Bill* carry Conviction; and that's a bold Word.

One very singular Mark of Honour your Compositions bear, which no Writer of the Party has yet arrived at, and I affirm it to you as the greatest Truth; it is this: Whatever you are pleased to divulge, is taken by all Sides, as the Genuine Sense of your Patrons, so far as you could possibly dive into it. You are taken as the Mouth of the *Junto*, the only one who has honestly laid open the full Extent of their Schemes without Palliation or Disguise; both these you really seem to scorn. Many Months ago you

generously avowed the Grand Project of the Union, tho' it was not intended to be introduced, until the Day after the Money-Preamble had passed, and candidly promulged the Design of displacing the Speaker, at a Time when nothing was professed but the warmest Inclinations in his Favour, nay, when the most assiduous Overtures were making for a deceitful Accommodation to lull Him and his Friends in Security. To an honest Mind like yours this universal Character of Honesty must be highly-pleasing, and it is the common Wish of all, that you could work out a Preferment, which may produce such an Intimacy, as we may depend upon for authentic Intelligence; we should have it then directly from the Fountain-Head, and should rely on your Communicative Temper for our Information.

I am very sorry Things have taken such a turn, that you have now but to comment on *past* Transactions, instead of regaling us as formerly with Prospects *to come*. Matters are, to be sure, at an indifferent pass with us, and I fear our Proceedings betray our Confusion. One Instance in particular makes us universally laughed at; I mean the violent stir the other Day about the News-Paper. Some will have it that the calling the C——, could come from no Head but yours, and that you alone could dictate the P——; others say this is not so probable, but that the whole was the Work of a better Head tho' a little disorder'd with Passion, which in it's Effects is equivalent to a clouded Brain. To be sure it was a heavy Proceeding from Beginning to End, and the worst of it is, I hear a Sacrifice will be on the promoting Side; for that your last Performance amounts to an outrageous Libel.—— That indeed would be to turn the Joke against us.

As

As to your Queries, I shall not at present set about to illustrate them ; Indeed, what has been said to your former Productions, is sufficient also for this. I own, I am highly delighted with them all ; particularly, the round Character you so justly bestow on the Patriots in your Letter to the Printer. It carries strongly indeed that Plainness and Sincerity which characterise your Writings. Then your Method of supporting the Money Bill——*toute Nouvelle !* four or five different Methods have been hammered out already, and here is *Yours*, of a more uncommon make than any, and, in the Eye of every sensible Person, full as valid as them all ! In my Conscience, I think it cannot be answered——But your Reason for the Prorogation !——By my Faith you're a droll Fellow——“ It was indeed highly *prudent* to keep Men “ afunder, who would only be fighting and *worrying* “ one another.” (and OTHERS too, perhaps) Faith, Dear Sir, 'tis a Pity you were not in Being in *Charles* the Second's Time ; how that merry Monarch would have chuckled at such a *Reason* for not suffering Parliaments to meet !

The only Fault I see in you (which, as your Friend, I must tell you) is that inseparable Modesty which all your Labours so abundantly exhibit. It was this, doubtless, that made you so industrious to conceal your real Self with your *Genealogy*, your being a *Country Gentleman*, (Take care, *B—it*, you are yet fore from one of *that* Appellation) and telling us how often you have stickled for *Liberty*.——Dear Doctor, how can you be so ignorant of yourself, as to imagine your Brilliancy could lye concealed ? Take it from me, that, assume any, ever so opposite, Character, you have something so peculiar, that you must be known.

Your

Your Epistle Dedicatory to Sir R—d C—x is really a pretty Piece of genteel Satyr; such a one, as, I promise you, will gall him to the Quick: I know him well, and can assure you, he has always shuddered at the Poignancy of your Productions: I dare say (if he reads it) this will give him no small Emotion; and had it appeared before the Session, his Head would never have been clear enough to have worry'd us as he did. It is indeed justly founded, and neatly conducted. On my Word, my dear Doctor, a few such Men as you would overset any *Faction* in the World.

Proceed with Vigour, dear Sir, and don't be discouraged: Never suffer the Quill out of your Hand, for your *Opportunity* will, I fear, be but short; or, in your own Phrase, *post est Ocasio calva; Carpe Diem; Principibus placuisse Viris.*—But the Beauty of your Appothegms is as inimitable as the *trairvetè* of *Sancho's* Proverbs, and the Fund as inexhaustible.—Don't suffer your Learning, your Humour, and your Politic Vocabulary, to be hid in a Napkin. Human Talents generally have a large share of the *Vis Inertiae*, and must therefore be kept in Motion. Do not, however, write *merely for your own Amusement*, but send your Works abroad; for (as you observe in your Preface) they must ever be acceptable where Folly and Stupefaction prevail: Write on, i' God's Name, 'till we are doctored to your Liking, with those *sharp and awakening Means* which you so eagerly hope to see administered by those *who have Authority to give them Weight, and Power to give them Efficacy.*

As your Friend, I join with you in assuring the Public, that every *Allegation* in your *Queries* is strictly true, and therefore defy the best Advocate of the other Side, to convict you of *Falshood*. Your Suppositions too, are all highly Reasonable and Probable;
and

and as for Slander—you have really said nothing that deserves *that* Name ; and if you had, the *House* is up (Thanks to your Prime Patron) and no Serjeant at Arms at Hand : Why then should not you, in *your Way*, take Advantage of the Prorogation as well as your BETTERS ?

My Epistle grows a little too long, but the most indolent Pen can comment at large, on so capacious a Field as your Performances afford.

I shall now beg Leave to kiss your Hand, and subscribe myself, 217

Dear DOCTOR,

Your most devoted humble Servant.

F I N I S.

I shall now beg leave to kiss your hand, and
 wish your reformance afford
 indolent I am contented at large on to be man
 My English grows with the time long but somewhat
 well as you a man in
 your way take advantage of the indulgence as
 at Arms at hand: Why then should not you in
 up (I thank you for your reason) and no separate
 before you change: and if you had the King as
 and as for blunder—you have really said nothing but

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81/15-2/10

LETTER

From His G—— the

L— P— of all I——,

TO THE

Chevalier de St. George.

Faithfully translated from the Original
ITALIAN.

L O N D O N:

Printed by ROBERT SCOTT, 1754.

A

LETTER

From His Grace the

— of all I —

TO THE

Chevalier de St. George.



Faithfully translated from the Original
by J. A. M.

LONDON:

Printed by ROBERT SCOTT, 1754.

LETTER, &c.

Dublin, the 30th of January, 1754.

ROYAL SIR,

I WAS honoured with your Majesty's Commands of the 20th of *November*, and beg Leave to repeat my Assurances to your Majesty, of my inviolable Attachment to your Majesty's Royal Succession, and its Interests in these Kingdoms.

IN Pursuance of your Majesty's Directions, I shall proceed to lay before your Majesty, a particular Account of the State of your Majesty's Affairs, and the Progress I have made in promoting your Royal Cause. This I should have done before, but that I waited for the Determinations of some important Events, in order to communicate them to your Majesty.

It is with infinite Pleasure I can assure your Majesty that our Undertaking prospers with astonishing Alacrity. The Hand of Providence seems indeed strongly visible in every Step; which is, doubtless, the Result of the many Masses and Intercessions your Majesty has so piously caused to be solemnized in our Behalf, and to the Benedictions poured on our Cause from the Holy Chair.

THE universal End of Heresy seems indeed to be approaching. Your Majesty's great and religious Brother of *France* is the mighty Instrument of its Demolition in that Kingdom, as I hope that I, and my Co-adjutors, shall be, under your Majesty's Influence, in This. We will therefore, as far as the Circumstances of Things will permit, follow his noble Example in the Methods of effecting the great and pious Purpose.

NOTHING, indeed, but a supernatural Interposition can Account for the surprising Circumstances of our Success. By *This* alone could the differing Passions and Pursuits of the many who are engaged in our Cause, (very few of whom have your Majesty's royal Interests in View) be rendered subservient to that one grand End; for to this one Center do they tend, as effectually as if directed thither by the most ardent Zeal.

I MUST, however, for the Sake of Justice, declare, That I do firmly believe, that these your Majesty's involuntary Assistants, are no Enemies on Principle to our most holy Religion, but would readily embrace it, were it the surest Road to the Gratification of their respective darling Pursuits. I have not, indeed, let them into the whole of the Scheme, because they are accomplishing it, on their own Motives, to my Heart's Desire.

By the same Assistance from *above*, and the Mediations of the *Saints*, without peradventure, it has been effected, that many, very many, whose temporal Interests must unavoidably be for ever ruined by their own Conduct, and who, from their reputed Inflexibility, strong Connexions with the Welfare of this Island, and immense Possessions, should seem to be *unconquerable*, have been the Foremost of our Auxiliaries. We were inspired with the Thought of trying Them, and They fell at the first Touch into our Hand. Some we caught by holding up a tinsel'd Title; for They were too big for Pensions. To another we shewed a Glimpse of the Privy

Privy Council, and he ran at it like a Madman, thro' Dirt and Dunghill, overturning Friends, Relations, Posterity; and all that is dear and precious to Man when free from Infatuation.

ANOTHER we hooked by a Place or Pension to his Uncle, or Cousin, and telling him, that *in good Manners* he could not oppose us. Others we brought in by —, in good Faith I can hardly tell your Majesty how, but I think it was by a little pompous Puff, and Parade, and Varnish—: In short, by the Force of that Blessing which furthers, unseen, our every Attempt; for no *natural* Reason can possibly be assigned even by Themselves.

As for the *Minores Gentium*, who came within the Sphere of pecuniary Influence, the Argument to them was short; we bribed them with — (your Majesty will laugh —) with *their own* Money. The Treasury Officers were very convenient on that Occasion; a Set of honest Gentlemen. Several more came over to us (some of them had quitted us when we first came into Power, that they might be purchasable) for Collections *in Nubibus*; and eight came in a String on a Promise of the same vacant Commissionership, which our Friends in *England* keep as a Tit-bit for the next General Election.

SURE nothing was so providential for your Majesty's Interests as the present A———n in this Kingdom. I shrug myself when I think of it. The D——y is doating, yet positive enough in all we bid him; and his Son—Oh, Sir! he's an excellent Youth—He has every Quality requisite for our Undertaking: He is bold, rash, sanguine, and insatiably ambitious; has a glib Tongue, and a volatile Brain; holds this People in the lowest Contempt, and has a Spirit not to be baffled by Disappointment. He and I are as great as Brothers, and agree cordially in every Step toward enslaving this People, tho' he carries his View no farther than his own Elevation; while I hope to draw from thence the most desirable Effects for your Majesty's Interests,

to

to which, as is my Duty, I ever keep a most respectful Eye.

IF Heaven should crown your Majesty's Endeavours, I must humbly beg Leave to recommend this young Gentleman to your Majesty's Favour, as one who would be peculiarly useful in a System of Government like that which your Majesty, in Imitation of your royal Ancestors, would doubtless vouchsafe to adopt. The Spirits of these People have been so long inured to Liberty, they will want a vigorous Dragoon; and, as he is no Bigot to his Religion, I doubt not of his being easily converted. He is a wondrous Admirer of our Dispensations.

WITH the Assistances I have mentioned, and the Accession of the Interest of an old Nobleman, indefatigable in railing his Family any how, and a determined Enemy of our Antagonists, we fell to work. His Son was to be, by our Aid, put in the Place of that detested BOYLE, (so often anathematized by your Majesty and your Adherents) and to succeed to his Influence in the House of Commons—that is, if our Schemes would admit of the Existence of a House of Commons, which, I verily think, in their mildest Consequences, they would not.

OUR first grand Point was to drain the Treasury, and this, as your Majesty will suppose, we chose to make, if possible, *their own Act*; pray your Majesty observe how this Point coincided with the Schemes of All. The Ministry on the other Side (the greatest State Botchers sure that ever were at the Helm) wanted this Money, particularly at this Time, to save their Bacon at the ensuing General Election, and would be very glad to have the Treasury at their Discretion for ever after. The Gentry they sent over are faithful to their Directions, and my Friend the S——y was particularly zealous; for he had in View both his own Share of the Plunder, and also the Facility which must accrue to his
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private Schemes of Domination by wounding the Prosperity, and consequently breaking the insolent Spirit of the People. As for my Part, your Majesty will imagine how heartily I embraced a Project tending so directly to the Advancement of your Majesty's Interests here. The *English* Genius has taken such Root in this Island, that nothing but an Introduction of universal Calamity, and at the same time poisoning the Minds of the well-affected against the Family on the Throne, can pave the Way to the Designs of your Majesty's Friends. Both these Purposes, your Majesty, and every other Person, with half an Eye, must see to be the immediate and necessary Consequence of this Scheme: For a Nation sunk to the Depths of Poverty will ever wish for a Change, and Ministerial Measures will ever be charged to the Sovereign's Account. In short, I thought it a perfectly providential Design, and came into it with all my Might.

To try our Strength, however, we first took up the Defence of the poor unlucky Rogue whom our Adversaries began to maul last Session, and spared upon the *solemn Promise* of our Leader, the D——y, that he should be punished by his Master: Most of our Party, Royal Sir, are entire Profelytes to that Article of our Religion which dispenses with keeping Faith with Heretics; and accordingly he got this Fellow Leave to fill his Pockets with the Sale of his Employments—an odd Kind of Punishment, your Majesty will say!—The cursed C——s, however, resolved to vindicate their Dignity, and we undertook to bring him thro' in Spite of their Teeth. Your Majesty will say the *Cause* threw no great Lustre upon us, but we could not help it: If we could have got them on the wrong Side, we would have taken the right.

Nobody would believe that such Constancy, as we, to our great Surprise and Vexation, experienced, could exist in Human Nature. That in less than
three

three hundred Men there should be found so many impregnable to all that Power, Corruption, and Menaces could supply !—In short, we were baffled, and the poor Devil was demolished. But the Majority was but small, and we were puffed with Expectation, tho' covered with Shame.

I SHALL not detain your Royal Attention by a Detail of any intermediate Occurrences ; but in general inform you, that we got in among them a couple of very honest Gentlemen, true Catholics in their Hearts, and of Extraction unsullied with Heresy ; and another who is not only *Orthodox* in Religion, but of the most invariable Principles in Favour of your Majesty's Succession, deduced from a Series of Ancestors distinguished in the glorious Cause, and confirmed by all the Influence which parental Instruction and foreign Conversation could bestow. And indeed, the many Fatalities which concurred to his Success bespeak sufficiently his uncommon Merit.

THESE Recruits put us in Spirits, and to work we went to pass the Money-Bill, with an Addition, which by its direct Consequence enabled *the Ministry* to call away every Penny that is now, and hereafter may be, redundant in the Treasury, *by the King's Letter* ; and then, crack ! went the Nation in a few Weeks *for ever*. But this damned House of C——s—Good your Majesty, do not leave even the Shadow of that hateful Body in Existence, when you are restored to Power ; they ever were, and ever will be, a Stumbling-Block to Dominion both SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL—To ease your Royal Suspense, they crushed our Scheme by a pitiful Superiority of Five—To be so near the Mark, yet miss it, throws me almost out of that Composure I have laboured to attain, in order to address your Majesty as becomes me—

THAT hated BOYLE (I call the Saints to witness with how true a theologic Rancour I detest his Name !) was the Head and Spirit of the Opposition.

tion. On the single Thread of his Life hung the Fate of a Nation ! It pleased Heaven to preserve it, that the Merit of your Majesty's Adherents may be enhanced by an Increase of Difficulty. This Man and all of his Progenitors were Enemies of your Royal Succession and their Plan of Government ; and He in particular, when your Majesty's Royal Sister was piously forming the Scheme of ceding to your Majesty the Throne of these Kingdoms, and had caused the Doctrine of your Royal indefeasible Right to be universally spread and received, He was one of those Few who opposed it to the Hazard of their Lives, and the certain Loss of all Favour—I am told his Sword was hardly ever in its Scabbard for four Years together—an obdurate, bloody-minded Heretic ! and so provokingly cool and uniform withal !

The only Consolation I had on this Defeat was, that the very Attempt has raised an Outcry against the Government that is Music to my Ear, tho' I am included in a large Share of it. This in some Sort will answer our Design ; and to distress the People the more, we have obliged the Treasury Officers to turn all the Bills into Cash, which is above half of the current Coin of the Kingdom. By this Means, there passes hardly a Day but I am regaled with an Account of Bankruptcies, and other Calamities, from all Parts of the Nation. What a Pickle would they be in, should we carry it away !

SINCE we could not make them betray themselves, we came to a Resolution of taking a new Course ; and away we dispatched our second S——y (a young Fellow of an excellent Head-piece, and great hereditary Integrity) with proper Credentials ; adjourned the Parliament, and in a Post or two had four of the Ring-leaders *turned out* of their Places FOR DARING TO DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY. I own, I was in Love with this Scheme of PERSECUTION, so necessary for the Support of our present Designs, and the Preservation of the DIGNITY OF POWER ; and 'till the holy *Inquisition* can be erected, and *Gallies* built, this seems to be the most desirable Method. The S——y and I

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are for having all the others displaced ; but others are for leaving these alone on the Gibbet, *in Terrorem*, against the Meeting of the Parliament, whom the same Advisers are for suffering to sit, to try our Strength there after making ourselves thus formidable.

This Scheme, your Majesty may observe, comes from a cautious Adviser ; for my Part, I do believe that our late Proceeding will, so far from intimidating, increase the Number of our Opponents in the House, and perhaps, incense them to some vigorous Resolutions destructive of all our Measures. There is a natural Love of Liberty, and Hatred of tyrannical Oppression, implanted by Nature in the Minds of these Heretics ; nor can they be brought to believe, that they should be restrained in the Bounds prescribed by their spiritual and temporal Rulers. The cursed Effects of independent Property !——All whom we have deceived in our Delineation of Matters will infallibly fly off from us ; for we have thrown off the Mask ; and they can hardly be so stupid as to think, that by such violent anti-constitutional Proceedings, we mean *nothing* but the Dignity of the Crown ; for *that*, a Child may see, is derogated from by every Incroachment on PARLIAMENTARY LIBERTY.

IN short, their Reasonings on this Event will be endless, and we shall infallibly lose them, unless they be metamorphosed into Stocks or Stones. Many others too will be probably so disgusted as to desert us, tho' retained in our Pay, and the deuce a Varnish have we now left for our *Cause*. It is really too rotten to be touched ; for which Reason I am for *proroguing*, and in the mean Time transmit the Bone of Dispute *bodily* to *England*, and let our 'Squires go back to the Plough, and look for their Remedy.

This, it is true, is a *bold* Stroke ; but it is a *sure* one, and our Game is desperate. Others are for *dissolving*, and getting a new Parliament by the Dint of Corruption, and Sheriffs, (whom we are, at all Hazards, most industriously culling out) and by Means of *That*, get Votes and Resolutions to authorize our Measures ;

Measures; and afterwards clinch the Matter with a *Land-Tax* and *Union*. But, I fear, we should not be bettered by a new one; and, on the whole, it is a tedious and a precarious Scheme.

As we have a Multiplicity of Counsellors, so I cannot certainly inform your Majesty which of these Projects will take Place; but I hope to be able to convert the Event to your Majesty's Service.

YOUR Majesty will see, by this Account, that we have done a great deal for the Time, but that there remains a great deal to be done. The penal and disqualifying Laws in Force here have taken all permanent Property out of the Hands of Catholics; yet they are a very moneyed Set, and are revived in their Spirit and Expectations from the Steps we have taken; all their Meetings are crowned with your Majesty's Health, and Wishes for our Success, of which they plainly see the Consequences. This, indeed, and our Adversaries consisting almost entirely of Men long distinguished for their Zeal for the Family on the Throne, and now loaded with every possible Mark of Disgrace, throws an Odium upon us, which, while we endeavour to disguise our Designs, we wished to avoid; but now we are got above that.

I AM sorry to say that the People, in general, are our implacable Enemies. Addresses and Associations every Day bespeak the Flame they are put in by the (very just) Apprehensions of losing all that is dear to them, and also their violent Resentment at the Representatives who *betrayed their Trust, and sold those committed to their Care*, which I assure your Majesty they did with as much Composure and Unconcern as they would sell their Oxen or Sheep, and with the same Earnestness in raising the Price.

THIS Metropolis (a formidable Body!) detest Us as the Devil. The moneyed Men are a powerful Weight, and the Mob a diabolical one; God grant they do not *De-Wu* the S—y or me, or both; we are in confounded stew. To counter-balance this City, we have nothing (excepting Straglers) but the

Corporation of *Cork*; and they do us but little Credit, for they are so irretrievably stupid that, I believe, they would suffer us to barrel them in the Place of their Beef, if their Master, the Commissioner, whom we have at our Beck, were to tell them it was for their Good. They complimented us for pursuing the *true Interests* of the Nation; I beg your Majesty will make that your Landing-Place when you come to take Possession of this Kingdom, and I will engage to procure you a gold Box, and most favourable Reception among them, *for the true Interest of the Protestant Religion.*

HOWEVER, we have the Disposal of Places, which will ever supply us with *Friends*. The Commissioners are ours plump, and their Influence is extensive. The Bishops, (very few excepted) go, as they ever have done, where Power was combating with Patriotism, and the Clergy follow their respective Leaders. The Judges were never more devoted to your Royal Grandfather, of pious Memory, than they are now to Us. Most of the Lawyers are ours also, though the best Spokesmen are at t'other Side. We have, just now, given them some Encouragement to stick by us, by rewarding the Services of one of them with a Place of Honour; torn from one of the insolent Commoners, and this the old Knave (for tho' in his Principles he and his are ardent for your Majesty; yet, between ourselves, he is grown Grey in hypocritical Vileness) struts in his plundered Pageantry with all the Vanity of a Boy; and is become the Derision even of us who employ him.

THE Army I wish I was as sure of. They are not quite *French* enough for my liking, and they are not sufficiently mercenary to be bribed. It is true, they are very respectful to Power, but that is from a polite Turn which accompanies the Profession. They have ever been in these Kingdoms a confounded uncomplying Obstacle to Schemes like ours; I can't forget the slippery Trick they played your Majesty's Royal Father on the Landing of his Antagonist. They scorn, forsooth, to be made the Instruments of enslaving a
free

free People—I have no Patience with a Soldier's pretending to *think* or *chuse*; they are paid to obey ORDERS; and I would have them as servile and as tyrannical as my own Dean of *Armagh*.

OUR P—s, (a notable Set) are so busy in spending their Fortunes that they can't spare Time to preserve them. Very few of them, beside that damned officious *Kildare*, either know or care what becomes of the Country they live by. This is extremely lucky; for did they duly attend their House, our Bishops (who almost always make the Majority) would be overborne, and, perhaps, some vigorous Step taken, which, adding its Weight to the Resolution of the Commons, may be irresistibly dangerous to our Schemes. But now the P—s House is all our own, and the Addresses as sweet as Sugar.

FROM all this, Royal Sir, I retain great Hopes. Nothing I dread so much as the *English* Commons interposing. They may think, perhaps, that an Attempt on any Part of INTEGRAL LIBERTY may affect and weaken the Whole; that PARLIAMENTARY FREEDOM is the common Cause of all; that it may be their own Turn next; that the Treasure plundered from hence will enrich but a few Individuals, who will turn it as a formidable Weapon at the ensuing Election against their own national Interests, while by this Kingdom being ruined theirs will be deprived of all that Wealth which by means of our Industry centers and circulates with them; while *Ireland*, spoiled of its Liberties and Blessings, must become a Nation of Desperadoes, a constant Thorn in their Side, and ready to join in every dangerous Attempt with the disaffected *Scots*, to which their Contiguity to *Scotland* may the more contribute——In short, they may certainly see very ugly Consequences from our Measures, and, should they interpose, *conclamatum est*. They may be the more ready to quarrel too, as they almost universally detest our Supporters there.

WHENEVER I do smile (which is but seldom in my Heart) it is at our taking Steps in this Island, which
in

in *England* would have brought us into Impeachments and *Præmanire's*, and in all Probability to the Scaffold and Gallows, with a Majority in the House of Commons against us. Yet *here* we do it with Impunity, and, among some, with Applause. But *we know* we are in *Ireland*, and what Redress can *Ireland* meet if it will betray itself? And yet if the Fools would stand firm by each other they are secure enough, and we should be hunted out of the Kingdom with Shame and Ignominy.

THEY are much better worth taking Pains about now than they were in the Time of your Royal Father. Individuals are opulent, and the Country miraculously improved; for, to give the Devil his due, the Gentry we have superseded did make it prosper to some Purpose.

For my own Part, Royal Sir, tho' I am too modest to puff my own Merits, yet I must say I have suffered an infinite deal in your Majesty's Cause. Many sleepless anxious Nights do I toss on my Bed of Down, wishing for Morn to relieve me from myself. Innumerable are the Heart-akes, the Fears, and Disappointments that rend my Breast. Wherever I shew my Head I am conscious of being followed with Imprecations, and every Fellow-Creature I see, looks on me as on an avowed Enemy to the Society. All my *little Foibles* are exposed; I am sneered at by the Women, and hooted by the Mob. In the Midst of these Mortifications your Majesty may easily suppose my state of Mind. Nothing but a Soul exquisitely adapted to the Projects I have undertaken could support me. I assure your Majesty, that in all the Glare of Pomp and Power, amidst my numerous Train of Sy-cophants and idolizing Slaves, I stand the most miserable Creature of the Species.

I HAD almost forgot to tell your Majesty that the S——y insisted on *banning* the *damned Irish* with a Story of a Cock and a Bull, and producing legal Arguments for picking their Pockets. He thinks the People greater Asses than I do, so I thought it better

to

to let it alone, and say nothing about a Matter that would not bear to be touched; but I was over-ruled. Who should be the Writer was then the Question, and a hard one it was; for our Side is devilishly off as to Writers. One of them, (a Rogue!) coit me a sight of Money, but being paid beforehand writ such cursed Stuff that I was obliged to stop his Hand; for it set all the World in a Grin. Another, who *would* write whether I would or not, was so buffeted by a bearish *Country Gentleman*, that he is almost mad; and not only that, but he got us, and our Measures, a Scourging into the Bargain.

WE had, therefore, Recourse to some of our Judges and Lawyers, who club'd for the Performance, and puzzled the Matter as well as it could bear. It is written in the Mode of that Syllogism which your Majesty must have met with among the Jesuits, which *demonstrates* that a Man is an *Ass* or an *Ox*. The cunning Rogues have most ingeniously begged the Question all along; confounded *Assent* and *Consent*; endeavoured to fix Prerogative on *Implication*, (tho' it *must not be abridged by Implication*.) For the Usage (which alone can be the Support of Prerogative where it is not settled by Statute) is but of four Years standing, and makes undeniably against us. They will allow no Precedent, however, but what is in our Favour, which in this Case, I think, they might have *legally* phrased a *subsequent Precedent*. Then it is dashed so prettily with Constitutional Anecdotes, and Parliamentary Quotations, and dressed up in such pretty Language (tho' it smells a little of the *Lawyer*) that on the Whole it is really very moving.

WE got it neatly printed to please the Eye, (which, after all, must be the leading Power in any One this Book can convince) and away we sent it to all our Sheriffs and Creatures, throughout the Kingdom, FOR HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE. I wish it may be lucky enough to make the People believe that all our Zeal, our Menaces, our Bribery, and our PERSECUTION, took their Rise from the noble Source of preserving the
Royal

Royal Prerogative, without one single *interested View*; and that we have used a Series of the *lowest Arts, deepest Dissimulation, and vilest Corruption*, in the Honesty and Simplicity of our Hearts, in order *purely and merely* to compass the *best of Purposes*; in short, that for the Advantage of *the Crown* we endeavour to trample on its *BEST FRIENDS*, and to benefit *the Country* we are burning, to rob it of its Treasure.

If any Gloom appears thro' the Turn of this Letter, I beg your Majesty will impute it to my Reflections on the tragical Catastrophe of the Day; the dreadful, impious, Murder of that best of Princes, that true well-wisher of the Holy Religion, and hearty Abettor of its Efforts in this Kingdom—I will not dwell on the shocking Theme to your Majesty's Piety, but only assure your Majesty that the Example of him, your Royal Grandfather, cannot appear more precious, or more worthy of Imitation, to your Majesty, than does that of his beatified Servant, STRAFFORD, to the V—R— of this Island, and that of his martyred Counsellor and Spiritual Director, LAUD, in the Eye of,

Royal S I R,

Your Majesty's

ever devoted,

and dutiful

Subject and Servant,

G***A*****.

THE

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14

REVIEW:

BEING

A short Account of the Doctrine,
Arguments, and Tendency, of
the Writings offered to the Publick,
by the C——t Advocates, since last
September.

TOGETHER WITH

An humble ADDRESS to the worthy
PATRIOTS of *Ireland*, on the happy and
providential Events, which have crowned their
Labours in Defence of their Country.

By the AUTHOR of a Letter to a Member of the *Irish*
H——e of C——s on the present Crisis of Affairs.

———— *Soluta Catenis*

Incedit VIRGO, pretiumque et Causa Laboris.

Nulla dies unquam memori Vos eximet ævo.

OVID.

VIRG.

D U B L I N :

Printed in the Year MDCCCLIV.

THE

REVIEW

A short Account of the History
of the Winged and Tendency of
the Winged and Tendency of
the Winged and Tendency of

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By the Author of a short Account of the History
of the Winged and Tendency of

DUBLIN

Printed by the Author

T H E

R E V I E W, &c.

IT has been the uniform Practice of these Gentlemen to say a great deal about themselves in the Beginning and End of their Performances, not to mention some *Apostrophe's* here and there, to the same Object of their Esteem.

Primà dicte mihi, summa dicende, was always the Author himself, whoever was address'd to in the Dedication, or complimented in the Close.

In Compliance, therefore, with their Example, I have thought fit to say a little of myself; but have chosen to throw it mostly into the Title-page, to save Trouble to my Reader, and acquaint him, at the same Time, that I am a Party concerned; and, as far as one three-penny Pamphlet, (and one only) can entitle me to rank among Authors, have been an Adventurer in the general Trade of Scribbling last Winter.

I boast no Merit, as I have not been voluminous. I remember a Bookseller in *London*, who bargained with a *Scotch* Novel-maker to write for him by the Yard; but, I protest, some of my Fellow-Labourers might contract by the Acre, and, perhaps, by now, have fulfilled the Engagement.

I fear, indeed, my Brethren of the Quill, have not sufficiently considered the Nature of human Curiosity; or who they are, of whom the Publick has the strongest Inclination to be informed; and yet, a little Reflexion would have helped them to understand, that they, (and they only) have always been, Men and Women, famous in their Generation. Men distinguished by their Deeds, or Women exalted by their Beauty.

Thus, for some Years past, there has been a general Curiosity over all *England*, to learn the most minute Particulars concerning a great Man, and a very beautiful Lady, whom, among many others, this Kingdom can boast of.

Now, the Writers I allude to in the Title-page, might have been in either of these Classes, for aught we know, till we read them; but, as we have not the Pleasure of any previous Acquaintance, either with them, or their Accomplishments, we must consequently be but little curious
about

about their Birth and Parentage *, their Humours or Fortunes ; where they lodge, or when they are to be spoken with, and many other Particulars, which these communicative Persons have not thought *too tedious to be inserted*.

I hope they will reflect on this another Time, and not make themselves cheap, (their Persons I mean, for their Books are dear enough.)

When I first resolv'd on the Task before me, I thought to have formed some general Heads, to which any thing similar in any of these Authors might be reduced ; but, as the peculiar Genius of each would not so distinctly appear in this Method, I imagin'd it was doing them but Justice, to give every one a Chapter by himself.

I shall begin in the Order they appeared, and first with

The CANDID INQUIRER.

He took the Title from a Pamphlet written by the Bishop of *Winchester*, to prove that *England*, under *Walpole's* Administration, was so happy, as not to be parallell'd by any past Prospect, which was a good deal for one to undertake, who was not an *Irishman*.

The

* See all of them *passim*, especially, the *Querist* and *Letter-Writer*.

The *Inquirer's* confessed Design was, to tumble down one Man in Power, and set another in his Place; to perpetuate the Dominion of a second over this Kingdom, and pave the Way for the Progress of a third, to arrive at Power with the other two; and the Tendency of all was, to curtail the Privileges of the People, and add more Power to the Crown for the better preserving the political Ballance, which, he apprehended, had, for some Time past, been * rising too much on the popular Side.

To exhibit a clear Idea of this Ballance in its due Perfection, he refers you to one Mr. *Maddox* poising himself on a Wire for the Entertainment of the Company at *Smock-Alley*, where he says, "It is charming to observe, how that ever so little over-swinging to one Side is rectify'd by an Over-swing to the other, till after many Vibrations, the Spectator has the Pleasure of seeing Mr. *Maddox* settling once more in his primitive Equilibre." I confess this Thought to be ingenious, and to illustrate a little more on it, figure to yourself the Kingdom of *Ireland* in a String, and (if his Parallel would hold here) the several Kings of it pushing on one Side, and the Parliament

* To obviate a small Criticism, which, otherwise, these Gentlemen will not fail to make, they are to know, that Lord *Bolbroke* observes, after a much greater Man than himself, that the political Ballance in this Point differs from all others, viz. That the Scale mounts where the Weight is greatest. See *Sketch*, &c.

Parliament on the other. There may be some Sport in looking at this Play, but the natural Effect is, to make the People giddy, and, if the Play be violent, turn their Heads, if not their Hearts; and is, surely, an Amusement should never be exhibited, but for better Reasons than he has laid down; which, to quit his Allusion, are as follows, viz. That, in the State Things had been for twenty Years, some young Men, of great Hopes, would be kept out of Employments, which he would answer for their discharging well, as one of them had got his Lesson of Government at Court, another spoke good *Englisb*, and the third wanted to make his Fortune; but principally and lastly, that the Author might get some Preferment. I appeal to his Advocates, (if any he has) if this be not the Sum, Substance, and Marrow of all he has written in three curious Pamphlets *, and for this we must go directly to *Jbuggee-shoe*, and set the Government a swinging.

And to obtain more effectually these favourite Points, one of his first Devices was, to throw himself into a Trance, as the *French* Prophets did, to gain Credit, and dream he was talking with Mr. *Powel* and other great Folks †; then he took a Lodging in *Twatling-street* ‡, and gave out he was gone to the Country; next he foisted his Name into a Pedigree of *Hugh de Lacy*; then he
sent

* *Inquiry, Pastime, and Queries.*

† See *Pastime and Inquiry.*

‡ See Pref. to *Queries.*

sent a Challenge to a Knight to be *sonorous with him on Paper* *, or fight him, if he liked better. He, moreover, got together, like a Rag-gatherer, fundry Scraps of *Greek* and *Latin*, to make a Garment of various Colours for his *Patrons*. In a Word, he has been joking, lying, blundering, stealing, fawning, threatning, wishing, flattering, vowing, and prophecying, for the Space of five Months, and been out in all, in every Article, save one, and, perhaps, one half of another, *viz.* where he promised and vowed three Things in the Name of one Gentleman, that he should renounce the D—l and his Works, the Poms of the World, and the sinful Lusts of the Flesh †. The first does not yet appear, the second his God-Child has fulfilled, and is said to have made some Progress towards performing the third, *having covenanted with his Eyes, that they should not look upon a Woman.*

It seems hard, a Gentleman should miscarry after so many ingenious Contrivances to gain his Point, so many Stratagems and Tricks; and he has, in my Opinion, but one more left to carry his own Point and get Preferment, which was *Bays's* last Shift to pass his Play §, *viz.* “ To ad-
 “ dress in a long black Gown, come on the Stage
 “ with an Executioner after him, and tell the
 “ Company,

* See Ded. to Sir R. C.

† See *Inquiry*, p. 19.

§ See *Rebearfal*, Act. 2.

" Company, if they did not comply, he would
 " kneel down, and have his Head cut off direct-
 " ly."

If he can neither divert People, or convince them, he may, however, move their Compassion, and, from the Plea of Merit laid in with his Patron †, when he sent him to *England* the noble Present of his two blue Books, he may come down to supplicate in Form, as the Fall of the Cause has been the Spoil of him too, and made his Case pitiable; and to give him his Due, and no more, he is a melancholy Mixture of solemn Conceit, and unaffected Dullness; Pedantry and Pertness; Gravity without Sense, and Jocoseness without Spirit; low Manners, and ridiculous Importance; has the Air of a Conjuror, and the Impudence of a Quack.

The SPIRIT of PARTY

Comes next; from which great Matters were expected, the Author, esteemed a *Drawcanist*, having heretofore singly encountered all the *Jacobites* of the Kingdom; and it were to be wished he had not, like his Friend (above spoken to) joined them again, and that Party so notoriously linked to them.

B

Write,

† See Ded. of *Past*.

Write, says somebody, and undeceive the World. But to apply to him his Friend's Motto, *Si Populus vult decipi, decipiatur*, had been better Advice; and if this Piece had not appeared, he might have enjoyed the Reputation of a good Writer, among People of little Reason, and less Taste, and among Judges, of a pains-taking, midling Writer in Prose, where he does not take sudden Fits of Phrenzy; and in Poetry, an industrious Bee about the Low-lands of *Parnassus*.

To allow him less, were to do him Injustice; and to allow him more, were to banter the Publick.

It will be said, it is easy to make wholesale Reflections, condemn by the Bulk, and give Opinion for Judgment; and that, without marking particular Defects, no Censure should pass for just. It is granted; and, as my present Task excludes the Consideration of any more than his *Spirit of Party*, I must leave every one to agree with, or differ from me, as his Judgment leads him; only observing that it is a thing impossible to prove, that any Writer either has, or has not Taste, Wit, or Humour; whether he writes pleasingly or unpleasingly, in (what are called) Works of Genius; for there is no Standard to try it by, as in Works of Science or Reason; so that, as the Poet says, we, generally speaking, *praise, or censure, as we like the Man*, or his Party, and who can disprove us?

But,

But, in the Piece before me, I am too happy in the Opportunity of pointing to every Instance of bad Writing that ever Critick spy'd; the most pitiable Efforts towards joking, the most edgeless Satire, and contemptible Ridicule that ever fell from the Pen of any Adventurer in the whole World of Pamphlets, or who was ever employ'd by any Party, either fallen or triumphant, to embellish their Cause.

To begin with his Invention. It would puzzle one to guess at the Train of his Ideas, when he makes the Hero of his History the *Knight* of a *Bridge*, and afterwards tells us, that *Bridge* means a deep Sea dividing two Manors *. I can no Way account for it, but by supposing he took the Hint from a *French* Romance, translated by *Dennis* in his Youth, where the *Pontus Euxinus*, as often as he met with it, is rendered, The *Euxine* Bridge; and he thought, perhaps, might as well be apply'd to *St. George's* Channel, over which, or the narrow Seas, his good Steward might ride triumphant.

In one Instant again, this *Knight* is a *Seneschal*, an, *Architect*, a *Chymist*, and a *Quack-Doctor*.

Now this is a Plan of writing not familiar to the World, or traceable in any the craziest Romance-Mongers, antient or modern, that ever

B 2 courteous

courteous Reader was plagued with, from the Romance of the *Rose*, to the Adventures of the *Man of the Moon*, lately set forth.

It is not Romance; for that borrows the Air of true History, and, though the Scene of Action be imaginary, and the Events impossible, yet the Heroes proceed on the same Principles of Valour and Prudence, and take the Field with the same Weapons that are used by other great Commanders, and only differ in this, that the first performs by his single Arm, what, in ordinary Battles, is the Work of ten thousand. But this Gentleman's Hero is strangely equipp'd in his double Capacity of *Doctor* and *General*; he takes the Field with a *quantum sufficit* of *Preparata*, *Specificks*, *Essences*, and Extracts from Houses, which appear to me to be neither lawful Weapons, or good *Physick*.

It is not Fable or Apologue; for there all is natural and consistent. A Lion speaks like other Lions, and even the Trees discourse agreeably with their particular Characters in Life, or the Stations they arrive at.

It is not the Way of writing which wants a Name, and for which we are indebted to *John Bull*, of happy Memory; for there the Law-suit is regularly carry'd on, and the Humour consists in describing the Events of the great World, by a Fiction of what may daily happen in the little World,

World, and characterizing Kingdoms, Princes, and their Enterprizes on each other, by the chicanne Proceedings of petty-fogging Attornies.

It is not possible to find out any Class to place him in; but the Point of his Invention and Design seems an Effort to reduce, to common Life and Practice, the Principles of some odd Kind of *Metaphysicks*, and by some *chymical* Process or other to *analyse* the Government of *Ireland*.

As to the other Talents of this Gentleman, enough has been said by others; and his *fair Knight* in the *black Armour* seemed soon tired of his Squire and Trumpeter.

To draw him in his Author Character, I think utterly impracticable. He is undefinable by the Wit of Man, as all Characters that are given, refer us to some preconceived Idea; to some general Notion we had made up in our Mind, by observing in what Particulars Men resembled, or differed from, one another, and which we apply as a Standard to measure other Men by: But nothing like this Writer ever existed; we cannot, in his own Words, *match him in the illimitable Capacity of Nature*, or liken him to any Thing on the Earth beneath, or in the Waters under the Earth; he is neither *Fish* or *Flesh*, but a *Species alone*, as was said of *Pindar*; and till another *Pindar* arises, no Flesh alive can describe him.

The

The next Piece which claimed our Attention, was the celebrated

FRAGMENT of *PATRICK*.

The Author of which is so far commendable, that he alludes to *great Persons* in Terms of some Civility, and, bating one or two little Escapes of his Pen *, or rather, Spleen, uses the Language of a Gentleman. If there be any, or much more, to recommend it as a clever Piece, in that Way of writing, I have not found it out, and think it will hardly stand a Comparison with other *like Pieces* intended to satyrize by Humour, and convince, at the same Time they divert, as shall be spoken to more particularly, when I have done with the Scope and Purpose of the Author, which extend no farther than to get his new Friends in, and his old Friends out; to compass which, he insinuates two Things, *viz.* That nothing useful has been done by an Administration of twenty Years, and that some Things very bad have been done by them.

As to the first, he was aware of an invincible Objection, and, indeed, full Proof of the contrary; the *unexampled Prosperity of the Kingdom in that Period of Time*, which he imputes to the *Dublin Society*, on the same Foundation of Reason, that

* See his Objection to the *Coachman's Age*, and *James the Waggoner*.

that the *Theatre Conductor* places to his own Account the Splendor of the Metropolis.

Every one acknowledges the Services done by that Society, and I shall not be particular in enquiring into the Success of their best-judged Præmiums, for Reasons I shall be excused inserting; but, surely, they neither procured good Acts of Parliament, or prevented bad ones, without which, they might as well have spent their Money in Corporation Treats, as in Præmiums, if, indeed, any Money had arisen from Subscriptions, or could be got in the Kingdom.

Some bad Acts * we know were prevented, (because they were push'd for) by that very body in the *House of Commons*, who since have resisted worse Acts, and it is supposed this Author's new Friends were no Enemies to the worst of them, or had Power to hinder them if they were; and well it may be, and was, supposed, that a *Land-tax Act* was try'd to be set on Foot, and a *Union* too, if any Hopes of Compliance had been given by the S——r, at least, all *England* thought so six Years ago as to the first, and, for four Years past, the second.

It is unfair to put an Adversary on proving, (as all these Gentlemen do) that a Ministry designs any thing to our Disadvantage; but, whoever has seen the Letters of several Lords Lieutenant
since

* *Sheer-board Act*. Act touching inferior Clergy, &c.

since *Q. Elizabeth*, to a Time not far back, must know, that they try, before they come over, the Probability of succeeding in any Thing, and pursue, or drop it accordingly.

Now, if any one of the Acts, which, we know, were try'd for, or those we suspect, had taken Place, what Use had the *Dublin Society* been of? Will any People be industrious, when they are not working for themselves? Or, will Præmiums excite them to plant and till, when they are neither to eat the Bread, or drink the Drink of the Field and Orchard? And had not *Ireland*, ere this Time, been thrown up as a Farm too dear to live by, if either the 3*s*. 6*d*. *per* Stone on Wool had been laid on, or a *Land-tax* pass'd? And to ask but one Question more, who prevented them? Some bad Things, said to have been done by this Writer, I can no more disprove, than he can prove; and I presume it will be a full Answer to ask him, how certain *Funds* have been lately disposed of? which, when he is pleased to answer, he may demand an Answer in Return.

But, to resume the laughing Part of his Book, and enquire into the Merit of his Humour. It is an Imitation either of *John Bull*, or the *Tale of the Tub*, and to try it by Laws extracted from these inimitable Pieces, were to throw but little Credit on the Performance; the Principal of which are to be simple in the Language, new in the Allusions, neat, and at the same Time, expressive in the Characters,

Characters, which must strike us on the first Glance by their Likeness to the Original. The last of these he has not aimed at, and we only know who they are he means, by something they have done, or some Place they fill, and not by any peculiar Turn that may distinguish them, and point them out when divested of these Circumstances. I had never known who *James* the Waggoner was, if he had not sent him with a Letter, which too is an unusual Conveyance. I was long puzzled to apply the *Grocer* properly; and Miss *Major* and *Minor* are Names too obvious to give the Reader the Pleasure of a Curiosity, that naturally arises in us, when we see two Ladies in Masks.

Again, he has pointed out the Scene or Place of Action, by naming the *Battle-ax Guards*, which are not to be heard of any where but in *Dublin*, which is an egregious Blunder, though very usual with an honest *Irishman*, who, if he were carry'd to *China*, would signify his Approbation of any thing, by saying, it was the finest in *Ireland*.

His Language is too high and prolix, and he exhausts every thing too much. A Writer, who would succeed in this Way, should lay down his Pen sometimes, though Wit and Humour were at the End of it.

Many other Remarks might be made to the Disadvantage of *Patrick*, which I forbear, and I

have only mentioned these as Hints to him when he writes again, which I hope he will do, as he is the best has appeared on that Side.

I hear, however, it took mightily with his Friends, though the Jest did not go round, and it were as ridiculous to tell People where they should laugh, as where they should not ; but I think it has had no great Effect ; his Friends are not seen in any new Lights, by the Places he puts them in, and the *Coachman* has still the *Reins*, though not the *Key* of the *Pantry*, where I leave this Historian to regale himself, whilst I hold some Discourse with the Author of

LETTERS to the PUBLICK.

This Gentleman's only Design (if you chuse to believe him along with the Professions of the rest) is no more than to promote Peace and Harmony between the Governors and the governed, and serve his Country, being a Person * “ who has as
 “ strong, sincere, and proper Love for his
 “ Country as any Man living, and would be more
 “ concerned at any real Injury done her — than
 “ whom there does not live a Man, who more
 “ abhors saying or writing, directly or indirectly,
 “ any thing to the Prejudice of another, and only
 “ takes

* See the Letters in many Places, but especially Numb 2.
 2. 19, 30.

“ takes up the *Pen of SOLOMON* † in Defence of
 “ *true Liberty*, that *heavenly Virtue*, (here’s a *new*
 “ *Virtue* for you ‡) and to extinguish the Flame
 “ which has unreasonably existed, and bring
 “ back Men to their Senses, which they had
 “ been driven from by a Set of scurrilous Libel-
 “ lers, a Disgrace to human Nature, &c.”

* I presume he goes here on the old Maxim, and undeniable Position §, viz. That when *Men’s Senses are lost, they must be brought back the same Way they went*. He could never otherwise hope his mechanical and scurrilous Writings could have any other Use, but to flatter his Patrons, and load the Mail along with the other broad margined Books, which have been sent down in such Quantities to every Village in the Kingdom, that if they should chance to *take fire*, instead of quenching it, they would, literally, and without a Metaphor, burn one half of the Island.

I beg Leave to digress a Minute, to point to my Reader the double Scheme pursued by a late Administration for some Time past both here and in *London*, not only to take off all the Writers of *News* and *Monthly-papers*, cause them to insert any Nonsense to their Advantage, and, besides, restraining their Detectors, giving away at great
 Expence,

† Numb. 1. p. 1.

‡ Numb. 2. p. 6.

§ See *Italian Proverbs*.

|| See *London Magazine* for Jan.

Expencc, and by Authority, the best Encomiums and Panegyricks on themselves they could get for Love and Money. Now, I ask, what could the probable Intent of these Proceedings be?

They are nearly the Counter-part of Lord *Strafford's* Proceeding in the Preamble he caused to be inserted and presented to the King in his own Favour, instead of the Remonstrance made against him by the Commons, which the Reader may see in the first Volume of the *Journals*; and there is nothing clearer in History, than that the first Step to arbitrary Power, in all free Countries, was, to stop all Communication of Intelligence among the People, and keep them in Ignorance of what was doing till it was actually done.

But to return to the *Letter-Writer*. The single Argument in his two Numbers is this; an eminent Gentleman in the Opposition acted four Years ago on Principles opposite to what he now professes; *Ergo*, the *Money-Bill* ought to have passed. Here's a trim Logician for you, and an able Advocate, for this is the Scope, whatever immediate Conclusion he comes to, and puts me in Mind of another Argument used four Years ago, to prove, that the Speeches and Writings of the same Gentleman ought to have no Weight, because (as appeared in a Paper industriously spread abroad) he had bilk'd a Hackney-coach twenty-six Years before. I desire any one to say, with what other Inference in View these Quotations from the *Cork-Surgeon*,
filling

filling nine Tenths of his Pamphlets, were produced? Was it to quiet the Minds of the *Rabble**, under which Denomination he includes all Persons in Town and Country, “† whose surprizing and “unprecedented Declarations are publish’d every “Day (in the *Advertiser*) as if sent (all fictitious “no doubt) from several (*he might have said all “but one*) Corporations and Counties in the Kingdom, threatening (*alias* resolving) to return none “but such as should oppose the C—t?” This were a strange Method to quiet them, and I think this Writer above it, as he declares he abhors calling Names, like the scribbling ‡, sorry, ugly, hellish Parents of Confusion, the groaning, screeching, tartarized Company of the Bear-Garden and other Incendiaries, whose Manners are so different from his.

As to his Author Character, not having seen his third Number, I can, as yet, form but this Judgment; he is very desirous to write well, and is what we ordinarily call a *Well-wisher to the Mathematicks*. He has an equal Taste in Prose and Poetry. In the first, when he begins a Sentence, he can make no guess where it will end; and if new Matter tumbles in upon his Mind, he can’t help putting it down instantly in his Period, having (as was said of an eminent Lawyer among

* See the Conclusion of the 2d Numb.

† 2d Numb. p. 15.

‡ 1st Numb. p. 23. p. 6. and *passim*.

§ Numb. 1. p. 16.

us) no Partitions in his Head *. His Application of one or two Staves of the Psalms, or votive Hymns of *Horace*, is in the same Taste, and relates as much to the Argument he intends, as preaching to a Storm would, to settle a Quarrel among the Sailors in the Cabbin.

In a Word, he is one who writes without Ideas, and never once in his Life conceived, or ever will, what the Difference is between Words and Ideas. I will tell him, however. Ideas represent Things, and Words represent Ideas.

Since I writ what is above, I have read his third Number, which verifies the *Irish* Observation. *He that has the Dullness upon him in the Morning, will have the same in the Afternoon.*

I come now with Delight to the momentous Authors of the

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

Whoever has had the Happiness from a Window in *Cheapside* to see and observe the passing Pomp of a *Lord Mayor's Day*, must recollect how his Attention was employ'd, and his Wonder gradually rais'd, by the succeeding Figures in the Procession, till, at length, the *Champion* appeared,
of

* For Proof, see his first Sentence, containing one Page and half, and, indeed, *passim*.

of more than human Size, terrible in comely Armour. For my Part, my Heart quaked within me at the Sight, and I could not easily be brought to believe that he walked on Stilts, and had a Paste-board Head; with Armour of the same, of which being divested, he was less than other Men, and only chosen to that Office for his Dexterity at imposing on the Croud, and frightening them with counterfeit Terrors.

Just such a Thing, it now appears, was this pompous Book. The *Remarker* and Author of the *Proceedings*, have stripp'd it of every thing terrible, and exposed the Littleness of the Arguments. And these Gentlemen have left so little to be said after them by their Friends, that their Adversaries, under the Title of an *Answer*, &c. have given the strongest Proof, that they are unanswerable; and, after thirty wire-drawn Pages, leaving the Reader where he set out, have reserved for the close the only Contrivance that could help them out, and give any Hopes of making an Impression, by printing in gigantick Letters, and solemnly assuring the Reader, that the CONSIDERATIONS are UNANSWER'D.

I commend their Prudence, and should give them Credit for so ingenious a Thought, if it were any more than a bare Copy of the famous *Calvin* in his *Institutes* *, *hæc omnia perspicue et solide*

* The End of Pref. to Inst.

folide—— “ We have spoken to these Questions
 “ with the greatest Clearness and Solidity, and
 “ are positively right in every Thing we say. Let
 “ this be an Answer to all Cavils, and do thou,
 “ pious Reader, in the mean time, proceed.”

By the Complexion of this last Piece, I guess,
 that we are to look for nothing more in answer to
Proceedings, which has overlaid the confederate
 Advocates for the new Doctrine, and spoiled the
 Paper Trade. It is the Remark of Lord *Baton* *,
 “ that though many Books be a Nuisance, yet
 “ the Way to cure the Superfluity, is not by
 “ making no more Books, but by making more
 “ good Books, which, like the Serpent of *Moses*,
 “ will devour the Serpents of Enchanters;” of
 which Enchanters I shall observe no more, than
 the repeated Calls they have made, for Power to
 fall down upon us, and crush every Remain of
 Liberty; to withdraw every Indulgence we enjoy,
 as well as cramp every Right we claim; inso-
 much, that if wiser and better Men than they,
 were not at the Helm of Government, this poor
 Country might soon expect to be shipwreck’d.
 They have pointed to the Shoals, and ardently
 wish to see us driven upon them.

TYRANNY

* Advancement of Learning.

TYRANNY display'd,

Consisting of one long Quotation from a Pamphlet written by *Swift*, with a View of supporting the highest Tory Administration ever *England* saw, to break the Power of the Whigs, and set aside the *Hanover* Succession.

It were unjust to suppose this Piece was transcribed and printed with any other View, than getting a Penny to the Editor. They are not so infatuated as to own the Principles laid down there; and though that Pamphlet may give us a high Idea of the Author's Abilities, it leaves too much Room to suspect the Honesty of one, to whom this Kingdom has been so much obliged. But let the latter Part of his Life atone for the former, and *Peace to his honoured Shade*.

I purposely omit taking notice of three other Writers in Favour of the Party, viz. The Authors of the *Birth-day Ode*, the *Dish of Chocolate*, and *Inscriptions* for the Scenery at the *grand Ball*, as they have sheltered themselves within the Verge of the Court of *Parnassus*, and have got a Protection from *Horace* and *Young*, *Pictoribus atque Poetis*, &c.

So, fearing I have been too tedious, I conclude, by requesting my Reader to reflect, if he can remember any Instance of such ridiculous

D

Projects

Projects being set on foot by so ridiculous Agents, forwarded by such ridiculous Stratagems, ridiculous Speakers, and ridiculous Writers.

For my own Part, I can hardly think the first Movers were in earnest in the Beginning, though they became angry at last, which is very natural.

When *Falstaff* and his Comrades went out to take a Purse at *Gads-hill* in jest, they joked and play'd Tricks only at first, and, but for the Knight grew angry, had abandoned the Enterprize; "I hate this, says he, when a Jest is so forward, and on foot too." And now I hasten to address myself to them who spoiled the Jest *.

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING been at a Distance from the Town for some Time past, I had not a Sight of the

Haberdasher's LETTER

Till it was too late to remark on it along with the rest. As he is a Tradesman, I shall observe nothing on his Want of Spirit or Ability in composing, but think I can soon prove him to be *Sutor ultra Crepidam*.

To

* See ADDRESS, p. 41.

To p. 15. you have nothing but a superficial Preface, with a superficial Recital of the late State of the national Debt, and the Conduct of the Government and Commons on the several Occasions of considering it, which had better been let alone, because he does not inform the Understanding of any one he writes to, in any one Point, which the Votes and Speeches, collected by other Writers, had not done better before him; and he shews a wondrous Ignorance of parliamentary Usage in lamenting so sorrowfully, “ that the “ Commons did not dutifully address the King in “ Vindication of their Negative to the Bill.” He is not justify’d, in saying it ought to have been done by the Author of *Proceedings*, &c. who only intimates, that if the Parliament had met again, they might defend themselves against Misrepresentation in other Matters, viz. that *Ireland* was ready to rebel; that (however inconsistent) the Opponents of the Lord Lieutenant were no better than a Mob; that all Men of Sense, Property, and Loyalty were on his Side; for this some Folks were made to believe on t’other Side the Water, and it was not easy to contradict them in a Place where no Admission was to be had, but through them; and, but for a few untoward Accidents, the Truth probably had not got there yet, but the Expulsion of *N——l*, rejecting the Bill, &c. opened a Way, and plainly shewed these Folks they had been deceived and juggled with. The Party here might find Means to persuade them,

that the D— of D— and L— G— were the most beloved in *Ireland* of any ever in their Stations, and that the People [the better Sort] were at their Devotion; but they could not persuade them, that they had protected the Engineer, passed the Bill, and obtained a Vote of Credit, the three grand Points undertaken for.

The Gentry bowled it away merrily, till these deadly Rubs came across them, and shew'd to Demonstration they had bias'd the wrong Way.

But to return to my *Tradesman*, p. 15. he tells his Countrymen, “ that rejecting the Clause was
“ very blameable on several Accounts, but
“ chiefly two; and the first is, that he doubts
“ much if the contested Clause had all the Mis-
“ chief in it some People would persuade us.

Now, supposing it had but one half, or half quarter, if he pleases, I say it was not blameable to reject it.

2dly, He says, “ admitting it had all the Mischief
“ pretended; yet the Method of opposing it was
“ indecent, and threatens our Liberties.” The Method of opposing it was the old Method, by putting a Negative on it. I own, it had been civilier to say *Ay* than *No* on that Occasion, and, no doubt, but Compliance with great People's Commands, especially when signify'd in so extraordinary a Way, is more mannerly than opposing

posing them, and I shall not vindicate the House in Point of Politeness, but say, without Scruple, (for I value their Anger as little as he does) that there are in the House of C——s 126 very unmannerly Persons. I can't, however, believe with him, that his M——y (if he could) would take away our Liberties, only because these Gentlemen are not better bred.

He says, (p. 19.) “ the Commons were permitted all Freedom of Debate.” I rather think they were bold enough to take that Freedom, so far am I from excusing them, though they knew it might be disagreeable. I own, (though not in his Words) that a deep Wound may be offered to our Peace, by mobbing and huzzaing; but how can it be helped? or is there an Example in History, where a standing Army did not keep the Peace of any People forbearing these Practices, when they thought themselves in Danger of Oppression? It is one of the Evils attending Liberty; and though it ought to be discountenanced, will never be suppressed but along with Liberty, and the Aggressors alone are in Fault. P. 21. he seems to think “ an Appeal to the People allowable, when an Attempt is made to establish lawless Power.” Pray, Friend, is this Appeal to be made before or after it is establish'd? and is not any the smallest Attempt to carry Power above what is usual, of this Kind? But all these Writers argue like *Swiss*, of whom it is a Saying, that though the *Italians* see Danger
a Mile

a Mile off, the *French* a Furlong, and the *Germans* at a Pike's Distance, the *Swiss* never see it till it falls on their Heads. We must not believe there are any Designs against us, till they are avowed. Now, in answer to this, I ask every plain Man in the Kingdom, is it to be conceived, that any Ministry would have taken the Pains we have seen used for three Years past, if they had no new Points to carry? no new Prerogative to establish? No Matter whether the *Considerations*, &c. are answerable or no. Here I fix my Foot, and abide by it, that no Ministry ever did, or ever will involve themselves in the Hatred of the People, work like Wire-drawers, and do other Things I forbear mentioning, without having any Designs, but what are for the Good of the People.

This Writer will never, in Conjunction with all his Party, be able to persuade the dullest Tradesman, or Peasant, that (*p. 23.*) any Man bars his own Preferment, sacrifices his Fortune, and that of his Family, loses his Employment, and draws Persecution on himself — from *narrow selfish Motives*, — *Party Views*, — and *the Dictates of Faction*; — or, on the other Hand, as is laid down with a self-evident Air, that any Man, who is rewarded with a Pension, Place, or Money, has acted on Views of public Good. It is Nonsense, and Contradiction in Terms, and an Insult on the common Sense of the World.

And

And here, in Charity, I caution some Gentlemen whom I love, though I cannot esteem them on any public Principle, not to use an Apology any longer for their Conduct, which I often hear from them, *viz. No one can blame me, I have received such Favours, and my Friends been served, I should be monstrously ungrateful, &c.* for this is a flat Confession, they have acted against Principle, and will overthrow the main Argument to be used by the *Haberdasber*, and the whole Corps of C—t Advocates.

What put this honest Tradesman on writing, I cannot say; though he is but a puny Penman, yet he has flattered People, or rather daubed them, who, I fear, will not be his best Customers; and from considering, I believe, he is either on the Point of breaking, or removing to some other Sign, and would wish to be better known to the Town; or, lastly, that he wants to be made *Haberdasber* to the King, or Prince of *Wales*: I am positive in the last Opinion, as I see, by his second Letter, he has no Thoughts of quitting the *Harp and Crown*, but continues, as usual, to supply his Countrymen with the greatest Variety of small Wares, both new and second-hand, ever sold in this Kingdom; and, no doubt, hopes to supply the Castle in time.

A LETTER from CORK.

The Author deserves to have some Notice taken of him, not for any Meaning or Argument in his Paper, but a certain Intrepidity in encountering common Sense, and singular Felicity in stumbling on every thing he ought to step over.

P. 4. "toasting the Health of the Lord Lieutenant is a Thing of course at all publick and "private Meetings, and he deserves no Share in "our Prayers, who ought not to be remember'd "at our Tables." No! may we not pray for a fair Wind, safe Passage to him, and Health and Happiness on t'other Side, without drinking his Health at Meetings either public or private? Alas! this Gentleman has not got out of old Stile yet, and though I have been at as many private Dinners as he has, not to mention public ones, within three Years past; yet I aver I have not heard the D— D—— toasted thrice, so far is it from being a Thing of Course, ever since it was contrived to change the Times on us.

P. 5. he says, "the *Dublin Advertiser* has "dared to insinuate, maliciously and falsely, that "Pensions and Bribes have been liberally bestowed on the true Friends of *Ireland*." The first is easily seen to, by looking on the List of Pensions, if the Ink be black enough; the other List is always written with white Ink, so that no one can say this or that, who is not in the Secret
of

of bringing out the Characters. His Friends will not thank him for this Piece of Satire on their Historian and Biographer.

He is wondrous unlucky in contradicting the only two competent Writers of his Side. P. 5. "The litigated Question, when duly stated, is "level to the weakest Understanding;" not that it matters a Rush at present, whether it be level or unlevel, the whole Thing is over, and we may answer to all has been written in Defence of the Bill since the 17th of *December*, as the Abbot of *Glastenbury* did on the Disputes of the Monks, whether or no the Abbies ought to have been dissolved, *Trifles, Trifles, Trifles*. But, however, if we should allow, that the Dispute was about a Trifle, (as they would have us think,) yet, in the Language of the Poet,

*Si tenuis labor, ast tenuis non gloria, si quid
Numina læva sinant auditque vocatus Apollo.*

The past Contest may prove of infinite Importance; and the Success of these mock Patriots (who, to be sure, were for undoing their Country) will, at least, be a Lesson to future mock Statesmen, and a gentle Caution how they give themselves Airs. Perhaps it may be a good while before we are bantered again; if it be not, it is our own Fault, and the Advocates for twice-baffled Power will hardly frighten us from our Lives or Senses, by denouncing Woes. I hate Proverbs,

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especially

especially the *Scotch*; but, nevertheless, *threatened Folks live long*.

The CASE fairly STATED.

An artfully written Book, on which, and *Moderation*, I cannot help observing, that the Authors are late. The Opportunity of trying the Clause again must be very far off, as it cannot offer, till the Nation be again in Debt, and has again a Surplus in the Treasury; so that the sole Intention of these Gentlemen must be to calm and quiet the Minds of the People. Now, I apprehend this will not be done easily, as long as the People observe such infinite Pains taken, and Industry (and something else) employed to gain a Majority in the House of Commons. Few Men, it is granted, can judge of the Points in Debate; but the plainest Man will infer, that when such a Majority is gained, something more will be done than has yet been avowed. When it is a known Fact, that Men, formerly in the Opposition, but now with the M——y, have large P——ns granted them, and that Places have been bargained for before they would join the M——y; the People will naturally and reasonably apprehend that something more is to be done, than barely paying a Compliment to his Majesty's Prerogative; for to this single Point these Gentlemen have, at last, reduced the Debate.

I shall

I shall leave it to the Parties concerned to vindicate their own Writings; but beg to shew in this Place, how, from small Beginnings, and small Concessions, the Liberties of Nations have been lost, and one parallel Case I refer to in the *History of the Wars of the Commons of Castile* *, where he takes a View of the Cortez, and which, he says in his Preface, contains useful Lessons both for Princes and Subjects. ‘When King Henry II. could not obtain from his Commons so much Money as he desired, he took what he could get, and passed their Bill in their own Words, but found Means to obtain a Vote of Credit for one Year only, to raise the Money he demanded, as it might be necessary, before they could meet again, to support the War. This was opposed by many of the Members, as striking at the Root of their Right, and, making a Precedent, would always be insisted on. It happened accordingly; and all was lost, by this weak Concession.’ Page 331. Lond. Ed. 8vo.

From hence we learn, that it was reasonable to oppose an Attempt, that, from all Circumstances attending it, seemed big with something to be brought forth hereafter, more unfriendly to the Rights of the People than appeared then.

E 2

Venienti

* By Dr. Geddes, Chancellor of Sarum. ✓

Venienti occurrere Morbo, is as good Sense in the Body politick as the natural; and, of the two, it is more prudent to be over careful, than too negligent, of Health.

MODERATION, &c.

Doubtless, *Moderation* is a Virtue, but I think not always good Sense. When I am attack'd furiously, no one shall persuade me to defend myself moderately, or wait till I am knock'd down before I fall into a Passion; and yet, this is the Tune of all the latter Writers for the C—t. We must stay till the Mischief we suspect to be intended us is done, before we alarm Folks, or oppose the Servants of the C—in doing, what they call, the K—'s Business.

This moderate, impartial, peace-seeking Gentleman is the most furious Zealot has yet list'd on the Side, as will appear presently. He calls Names, but does it by Proxy, and insinuates over and over, that Disaffection, Jacobitism, &c. were, and indeed, if you allow his Reasons, could be the only Motive for opposing the Bill; and yet both he, and the fore-mentioned *Cassater*, would have us think the Clause was only inserted to get a Compliment pay'd to his M—y. Very consistent! People are full of Compliments when they intend Mischief, as this Gentleman is, all the while he rails, and puts the most sinister Constructions on every Thing done by the Majority.

jority. But both Ways he, and his Coadjutors, will fail. The People now are too well instructed to be made believe, that all the Bustle of two Sessions was made about a Thing of nothing; and that nothing was to follow, or intended, from the Sweat and Labour of so many Agents; from the cajoling, threatening, spying, putting out and putting in, they have seen for three Years past: And all that the Party can say, and write, to prove it, will only serve to furnish waste Paper, and a little Jaw-work at Coffee-houses. He will never fix the Stain of Disaffection on Gentlemen, who never united in Opposition, or, rather, Defence, till they saw the mighty Preparations were making to crush them! When any Nation observes a neighbouring one putting themselves in a Posture of Offence, they have a Right to demand, why they do it? and, without a clear Answer, to suppose the worst Things intended, prepare to defend, give the Alarm, and set all Allies on their Guard. It is the same, when one Part of the People see another take such Steps, or, rather, Strides, to subdue them, as were too obvious to the most indifferent Lookers-on.

The plain Design of this Author is, to lessen that Esteem, which the Public has eminently shewn for the Gentlemen who opposed and defeated the Measures they apprehended would be hurtful, if carried into Execution; and, at the same time, to induce a Belief, that all, or most

of

of them, are disaffected to his M——y. The first, to operate at home; the second, on t'other Side the Water. This is the Poison he wants to have inoculated; but it happens, an Antidote has got before him to St. J——s's, to spoil the Doctor's Practice; and the People here have got a Constitution of Proof, by the wholesome Exercise of last Winter; and, to his great Regret, by amusing themselves without Doors, instead of sitting idle by the Fire, are become too athletick to fear any Attack on it in the natural Way.

P. 25. he says, "when a previous Clamour was raised against his M——y without doors, &c." I believe he is the single Evidence can be produced for this Fact, (for, by his Way of wording, he would have it thought a Fact) and the single Person, who ever heard the least Clamour against his M——y in any Part of this Kingdom; and, though I have read but few of the scurrilous libelling Papers he complains of, think I might challenge him to produce one Sentence, implying or hinting the smallest Degree of Disrespect to so good and gracious a King, in any one of them. This is highly insolent, and I do not wonder he should desire (p. 1.) to lie concealed.

P. 42. he says, with his usual Moderation, "Let us not charge all who rejected the Bill, with Madness, Frenzy, or Folly, or call them Villains, Dupes, &c. for some of them may be honest Men, only deluded by the Knaves
" and

“ and Hypocrites of the Party.” And this, he speaks in the Spirit of Meekness. I wonder how he would speak if he was angered? *Dic mihi si fueris tu Leo qualis eris?* He is, I fancy, like other Lions, gentle to his Keepers, and wags the Tail, as they give him Meat; but, if they take it away, would tear them first.

He makes but an ordinary Compliment to my L— L—, p. 26. “ If we convince him of some Things, (he but hints at among others he speaks out,) we may hope to be represented by him in such a Light as to obtain Pardon for what is past, — but if we go on the old Way, shall be represented so as to feel his Displeasure.” What have we done that we should take out a Pardon? would not a Passenger who reads this think we were all under Sentence of Law?

How we shall be represented, neither he or I can say; but I have strong Hopes the other Thing will not happen so soon as some People wish it, and that our fatal Doom will not be pronounced before a Re-hearing, whatever Endeavours may be used, to have Execution done without Reprieve.

There was a young hectoring Fellow once, who had his Name given him, from getting early into Jack-boots; and though he had little Cause for hating the People he had misused and pillaged; yet wished they had all but one Neck, that
he

he might have the Pleasure to strike it off at a Blow. It is a Pity Gun-powder was not then in Fashion, that he might have blown up the Senate, and thrown Squibs and Bombs among the People for Sport.

To describe this Writer is pretty easy. Though he is no Lawyer, yet his Plan of writing is, to confess and avoid. He admits, and explains away. He proves nothing he is pleased to charge the Opposition with, but presumes the Charge will not be denied. He scolds bitterly, under Pretence of checking it in others; and though he owns (*p.* 47.) he may have scolded a little, and been warm and angry now and then; yet, really, it was extorted from him by an affectionate Concern for his Country, and that the Stabs he has given it, were out of pure Kindness. *I kiss'd thee, e'er I kill'd thee*, said a famous Black, to prove his affectionate Concern for a Gentlewoman he had stifled. Heaven guard *Hibernia* from *Desdemona's* Fate, and from falling a Sacrifice to groundless Jealousy, wrought up by Artifice, in the Minds of those she loves, and is bound, as well as willing, to obey; and, from being deluded by her unsuspecting Innocence, to confide in those, who heartily hate her, because they cannot conquer her, or subdue that stubborn Virtue, which has been Proof to more Temptations than made *Danae* surrender, and has shewn a new *Astrea* to the western World.

An

An H U M B L E
A D D R E S S
To the Worthy
P A T R I O T S
O F
I R E L A N D,
O N T H E
Happy and providential Events,
which have crowned their Labours
in Defence of their Country.

ADORESS

PATRIOT

IRVING

which have crowned their labours
in defence of their Country.

TO THE WORTHY

PATRIOTS

OF

IRELAND.

May it please your Lordships and Honours,

AFTER the Attempts you have seen made, by a venal, and, for the most Part, a despicable Set of Writers, of base Principles and mean Abilities, to poison the Minds of a loyal People; after the Temptations you have resisted, the Corruption you have crushed, and the Labours you have sustained, in supporting the most valuable Rights of your Country; after defeating the united Efforts of Avarice and Ambition in high Places, and sordid Compliance in the low, all tending to yoke our Necks, and chain our Hands; permit me, for a Moment, to draw off your Attention from the generous Work you have been

blow

engaged in, and turn it to the chief Object you had in View, the Happiness of a free Enjoyment of those Blessings which God and Nature designed for all Mankind, and which the People of these Nations have, by Laws of their own making, been more peculiarly blest'd with.

Liberty, I am sensible, has been the Theme of Thousands, and the Felicity attending her, warmly described by every one's Pen, except alone, where the Heart was frozen, or the Hand was fettered. The Misery of losing her has been equally represented, that, from viewing the last, we may the better learn how to value the first; for Misery is the Foil of Happiness, as a dark Ground best discovers the Diamond.

But I shall not endeavour to entertain your Imaginations with the Flowers of Rhetorick, or the Raptures of Poetry; but to lay before you the peculiar Unhappiness must attend (in this Country) any Diminution of her original Rights, or resigning the smallest of the Bulwarks of Liberty; and, in Consequence of this, to point out to my Countrymen, the Happiness they are sure of, if they quit themselves like Men, and continue to support their Defenders, in requital for the Protection they have given them, and in Justice to themselves, and their Posterity.

I have no Design to enflame Men's Passions, by this Address, against their Constituents, or to continue an undistinguished Persecution of Gentlemen, who, doubtless, were, many of them, surprized, and misled into Measures they would

would now oppose ; and, on other Occasions, atone to their Country, for their past Conduct, by adhering to her smallest Rights ; but, I hope, where the Motives of their Actions are only known to themselves, and the Vouchers are not clear for their Innocence, a Distinction will be made, and all be excluded, by the Voice of their Electors, from any future Opportunity of acting contrary to the Purposes for which they chose them. It matters not with what Intentions they undo us ; and Indolence is as fatal as Knavery, in those we employ to act for us.

All Countries have Inconveniencies peculiar to the Nature of their Government and their Situation, the Tempers and Habits of Custom the People have contracted, and infinite other Singularities, that distinguish one People from another.

With some very singular Inconveniencies of Government, this Kingdom has, in more Periods of Time than one, enjoyed more entire Peace and Happiness than any of our Neighbours, or, indeed, the most distant Parts of the World, at the same Time, experienced. Thus, from the latter Part of *James*, till toward the End of *Charles* the First's Reign, all here was thriving and peaceful ; and during the last great War, at which Time, not only *Europe*, but the whole peopled World, seemed on the Verge of one great and universal Contention, we felt none of the Woes of War, and reaped all the Benefits of Peace.

Lord

Lord *Strafford's* Schemes began, and quickly compleated the Destruction of every Thing, in the first Period, which, for many Years, had made a happy People; and desolated, in fewer Months than it had been Years in raising, one of the goodliest Colonies any Country ever nursed. In an unlucky Hour did he found that Palace, the Ruins of which, at present, exhibit justly to our View, the wretched State in which he left a Country, that he had found in Peace and Opulence.

If not so quick, our Ruin, however, had been as sure, if some recent Attempts had taken Place, with this additional Circumstance, that it never could be repaired.

We are not in the Condition of a capital Kingdom, (if I may use the Word,) but dependent on, or, at least, appendant to another, in which only is the Fountain of Power, and from which all Redress must be derived. In the Head Kingdom all Disorders are quickly felt, and speedy Remedies are apply'd, except when the Physicians of the State are weak, or wicked enough to nurse, instead of curing the Distemper. But, in the distant Kingdom, the Disease may get a Head too strong to be resisted, before it is known to them; and when it is, they are less careful to oppose it, as distant Dangers make but little Impression, in Comparison of those which are nearer.

It is, therefore, the Wisdom of all dependent States, to prevent every manifest, or even suspected

pected Attempt on the Rights and Privileges have been granted and confirmed to them, from an Assurance founded on unvaried Experience, that no Administration, even the best we have known, ever yet parted with any Advantage gained on the Side of Power, and surely never will, whilst human Nature continues to be the same. The Ease of Government is the principal Object in every Governor's View, and to compass this, by enlarging Power, must, of necessary Consequence, be the next. Here then has begun the friendly Struggle, in all States and Kingdoms, for preserving Liberty ; for friendly it has always been to the general Welfare ; and, whenever this Struggle has entirely ceased, Liberty has ceased to have a Being. Slavery has quickly ensued, with the Train of Evils that attend her, and has well nigh made the whole World a Scene of inexpressible Misery. This Struggle, it is true, has sometimes precipitated the Ruin of a People, and brought it on sooner than it had, otherwise, taken place ; but this always happened when it began too late, when the Jealousy of the People had slept too long, and they awaked only to see the Gulph before them, to which their own Folly and Credulity, and nothing else, could have led them. Let the *Roman Commonwealth* be a Proof of this Assertion, and let every Period of her happy State, for six hundred Years, bear Witness, that as long as she watched over, and contended for, the smallest and minutest of her Rights,

Rights, she ever flourished and prospered; but when that Jealousy, which is a Virtue in the Publick, was blinded by Corruption, by Luxury, and Avarice, its inseparable Companion, till, one by one, all her Privileges were stolen; it was too late, in the virtuous Few, to begin an Opposition to the Invaders of their Liberty: And whether or no they had succeeded in opposing *Cæsar*, their Fate was to be the same, and, either Way, their Ruin was determined.

Happy then will that People be, who will learn to be wise from the Experience of others, and contend, whilst the Consequence of Contention may be happy; which it ever will be, when begun in Time, and founded on the only justifiable Principle, a Love for our Country, and a View to the general Good of all. Let senseless Divines, to say no worse of them, who have entered these Lists, prate of Peace, whilst they know not what it is, or by what Means to be obtained and secured. If they know no more of the divine than they do (as may appear in their Writings) of human Laws, and Obligations, derived from Nature to be our Rules of Conduct, they may preach to Fishes, as did St. *Anthony*, with as much Success as to rational Beings. Peace will never make her Abode, but where War is to wait upon her Call; and the Frame and Disposition of the human Mind convinces us, that the only Hope Men can have to enjoy Peace and Quietness, either in the Possession of public or
private

private Rights, is founded on a determined Resolution to assert and struggle for them on the first Appearance of Invasion.

To submit, for Peace sake, in our own Time, (the sneaking Motive of the Self-interested) is to entail one or other of the two greatest Evils on Posterity, that can befall Mankind, Slavery or consuming War.

Had the fatal Measures, pursued by King *Charles*, been resisted in the Reign of his Father, when an aspiring Youth (shot up, like a Meteor, by the royal Affection of a doating Prince) began to trample on the Peerage, imprison the Commons, and erect new Prerogatives to support his own Power against the Interests of his Master; *England* had never suffered the Miseries of that civil War, that, from the most flourishing of all States, reduced her to be the most forlorn, and brought her to the Verge of Annihilation.

Can they be Friends to Peace and human Happiness, who would advise us to shun the lesser Evils, when, by so doing, we must inevitably draw on the greater, and, by avoiding a present Dispute, (attended, it must be owned, with disagreeable Circumstances) make it necessary for Men, in a less Time than some are willing to imagine, either to relinquish all Pretensions to the best established Rights, or oppose, with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, the Designs which any weak or wicked Ministry may hereafter set on Foot for their Undoing!

It is no Security to say, we are blest'd with a Prince on the Throne, a Friend to universal Liberty, and one who has held, as dear as his Prerogative, the just Privileges of his People. This is owned with Gratitude; but let it be observed (which all History confirms) that the worst Things have been done, the worst that could befall Liberty, under the best and least suspected Princes, and that even by the People themselves, who are never so ready to part with Rights, as when their King has successfully defended them, or so willing to give them up, as during the Transports of Victory, or the Joys of a happy Restoration. This had been the Fate of *England*, after the Restoration, if Lord *Clarendon* had not stood firm (as Bishop *Burnet* observes) to his *English* Principles; and this would have happened after a successful War in the Queen's Reign, at least in this Kingdom, if a spirited House of Commons had not protected an infatuated People against themselves.

May no such Period ever arrive again, without a like Spirit as then appeared, and has since been so nobly exerted by all Degrees of Men, who love the King, the Constitution, and their Country. A Set of Patriots, whose Fame, though great, is least at home; and has excited the Wonder, as well as just Praise, of their Neighbours, and may lead the Way to some great and happy Reformation, among a People long used to Corruption in the first Sources of their Constitution.

To sum up all: What greater Happiness can your Constituents enjoy, than to see the Persons they had chosen to guard them, to defend their Properties, and insure their Rights, at once rewarded with Success, and crowned with universal Applause?

What more can Ambition, the laudable Ambition of the best and greatest of Men, delight in, than to have been the Instruments of promoting, and securing, the Happiness of the People, and, at the same Time, preserving the Rights of the Crown, which a few Men were endeavouring to misuse, who had set up an Interest distinct from both? For what other Purposes are Honours to be courted, or is Wealth to be coveted, but to cherish and protect your Inferiors, and aid and assist, with your Advice and Interest, those whom God and yourselves have set in Authority over you?

Without this in View, Ambition is shameful, and may it ever be disappointed; and without this, accumulated Wealth may make the Owner feared by some, and derided by others; but neither Happiness will be felt at home, or will Esteem attend him abroad.

All the Comforts, and all the Pleasures of private Life, are within the Reach of very moderate Fortunes; and the greatest are a Load to the Possessors, if they live only for themselves. It is not to keep them, but to use them well, deserves Esteem and Reputation.

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Ambition to be great and useful for ourselves only, is Ambition to be hurtful to others; and, by Consequence, true Glory, and true Happiness, must begin, where the false must always cease to exist; as one must be founded on, as well as accompanied with, the good Will, and the other the ill Will of Mankind.

If the Regard then of those you esteem and love (and, without it, what Joys has Life?) can afford any Pleasure to a generous Mind; if the unbribed Voice of a grateful People, poured out from the genuine Dictates of the Heart, can be well-pleasing in your Ears; if the unfeignable Language of every Eye you meet, and Tokens of Joy in every Face you see, (except in those, who would do well to hide them) be an acceptable Tribute of Praise and Thanks; if Love and Honour, good Will and good Wishes, be any Return for the Labours, as well as Losses, you have sustained, you have them all; an established Possession; not to be disturbed by the Malice of Enemies, the Change of Times, or the Power of Fate.

F I N I S.

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AN
ADDRESS

FROM THE

Independent ELECTORS

OF THE

Antient, Loyal, and ever Memorable

Town of INNISKILLEN.

TO THE

Right Hon. the E. of KILDARE,

THE

Right Hon. HENRY BOYLE,

Sir RICHARD COX, Bart.

Abraham Creighton, and John Cole, Esqrs.

Whose invincible Patriotism, and noble Opposition
to the Enemies of *Ireland*, this S—t—n of P—t
should endear them to King and Country.

To which are added,

Sir *Tady F*—’s Recantation, or a Tragi-burles-
cal Poem, written by himself, and Addressed to
the Right Hon. the Earl of KILDARE.

My Lord Chief *Joker*’s Proclamation against *Li-
bels*. *Haekball*’s ditto.

And 40 Original Patriot INNISKILLEN Toasts.

BELFAST:

Printed in the Year, MDCCCLIV.

A B D R F S

Department of the Interior

Office of the

Assistant Secretary

Town of Tashkilen

Right Hon. the Hon. K. B. B. B.

THE

Right Hon. H. H. R. R. R.

St. RICHARD COX, Esq.

Alameda County, and John W. B. B.

Whole having the Part of the and not a portion

to the Honors of the State of California

should and the State of California

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

My Lord Chief Justice's recommendation of the 10th inst. has been received and the same is being considered by the proper authorities.

And no Original Patent has been issued.

A B D R F S

Printed in the Town of Tashkilen

A N

ADDRESS, &c.

YOUR Lordships illustrious Spirit of Patriotism in Vindication of the Liberties of your Country, intitles you to such a degree of popular Esteem, that We should think ourselves wanting in our Love and Duty to our Country, if We should decline this Opportunity of returning you our sincerest Acknowledgments for your indefatigable Opposition to the most powerful and formidable Party, that ever resolyed upon the Reduction of the *Irish* C—n—f—u—n.

Your Lordship is more particularly to be Valued by the uninfluenced Protestants of this Kingdom, for your Magnanimous Resolution in presenting to the Throne with your own Hand, the Injuries his M—y's *Irish* Subjects laboured under, by the undue Influence of ungovernable and tyrannical Ambition. This was an Enterprize, my Lord, which should endear you to all the Sons of Liberty, since you would sooner run the Risque of the Displeasure of your P—r—ce, than see a free loyal Country injured and misrepresented, without lending them that timely Assistance, which none but your Lordship, was in any particular equal to. Your Lordship's noble Contempt of Venality, and the Smiles of Courts, supported you against the Various Censures which your seeming want of Success drew up—

on you. Nothing my Lord but a magnanimity of Spirit, peculiar to Yourself, could so Gloriously Stem the imperious Torrent, which rush'd against You, when the venal and injudicious Part of Mankind, judg'd of your Conduct by the Event. But God, and your Country, conscious of the truth of your Allegations, and the Uprightness of your Heart, soon shew'd the Nation, that no Power was able to Screen a public Offender from Justice in a free Country, nor were all the Machinations of Corruption and Art, able to Sully that glorious Honour, which your Patriotism so laudably purchased by the most signal Services in Behalf of the Liberties of I—d. When Ambition was so happily disappointed in their disingenuous and dangerous Designs, a Representative, a Native of the K—g—m, was sent over to Misrepresent the Proceedings of the noblest and most loyal Patriots that ever asserted the Liberties of any Country, and with what a truly Roman Spirit did your Lordship a second Time fly to the Tribunal of Justice, to Vindicate the Warrantable Proceedings of the Patriots of Your Country. Whatever Reception your Lordship might have met with, neither adds to nor diminishes your Glory, and if You could not command Success, You did more, by justly Deserving it. To Your Lordship's generous Endeavours, We owe the Preservation of the Liberties of our Country, for if You had remain'd in a timid Inactivity, and not first pointed out the Means of Redress, the Consequence of Venality, might be irrecoverably Fatal, to this envied and distressed Country. The untainted Loyalty of Your Lordship's Family, should always be in the highest Esteem with his M—y, nor shou'd the designing Insinuations of the greatest M—n—r be equally Prevalant with the Remonstrance of so noble and disinterested a Patriot, who had nothing in View, but the Honour of his M—y's Government, and the Tranquillity and Welfare of his Loyal, Protestant I—/b Subjects.

And who ever Insinuates that Your Lordship or any of the Patriots of I—d, had any other Motives for their Proceedings in P—t this S—n, is an Enemy to his M—y's Interest, and the Liberties of his I—/b Subjects.

The Approbation your Lordship's Conduct has met with, from the Independent Electors of this antient and loyal Town, is not Inconsiderable, if his M—y considers, that the Loyalty and Bravery of the *Inniskilliners*, were once the Glory of the *English* Nation, and the principal Supporters of Liberty and the Protestant Religion in *I—d*: and if ever his M—y should have Occasion for their remarkable and inherent Spirit of Protestant Bravery, they would shew themselves of greater Consequence to his Crown and Dignity, than all those Venal Courtiers who have lately endeavoured to Prejudice him against the Patriots of *I—d*, whose Memory will be Honoured and Revered, when Co—r's Descendants will be loaded with Reproach, for the Corruption of their Ancestors. In expressing our public Acknowledgments to Your Lordship, We chearfully join the rest of the Independent Electors of the K—g—m, in their Gratitude to the Right Honourable HENRY BOYLE, and Sir RICHARD COX, whose Conduct in P—t this S—t—n, has secured them the universal Esteem of all good Men, and placed them far above the Envy and Malevolence of the Enemies to our Constitution. Their Proceedings shew'd, they had nothing in View, but the Interest of their K—g, and the Welfare of their Country, which have been the only Motives such Generous Patriots were ever Actuated by. In a Scene of Emolumentary Court Favours, the Patriots are easily distinguished from the Enemies of the Country. The former gain not thing but the Interest and Approbation of their Country, and the latter enrich their Families by the Price of their Venality, which was too obvious this S—t—n of P—t.

There is one thing, my Lord, which gives us great Surprise, viz. We find several C—rs in different Parts of the K—g—m, and even those who got Places and Pensions, are indefatigable in endeavouring to Viciate the Minds of their Constituents, and the Public, by impotently Pretending, that their Behaviour in Parliament was so justifiable, that it tended to the Good of the Nation, and that the Patriots were carryed away by a Licentious Spirit of Liberty, propagated by the Ambition of some Men, who had a great

er Eye to their private Interest, than to the general Safety, and public Welfare of the Nation. This delusive Argument, might have some Effect upon weak Minds, if the whole Tenure of their Conduct did not shew too ready a Disposition to Patronize national Fraud, Support injurious Prerogatives, and Vote themselves into Pensions, Offices, and Places, for their unnatural Opposition to the known and established Patriots of *I—d*; Men, who have supported the Honour of his M—y's Government, and the Interest of the Nation in P—t these twenty Years past.

And if any C—ier is so Audacious as to Censure the Conduct of the Speaker of the House of Commons of *Ireland*, We can assure him his Envy only serves to expose the Corruption of his Heart, since the Constitution and the Revenues of *Ireland*, were never known to flourish so Prosperously, as since the Right Honourable HENRY BOYLE commenced Speaker. And it is well known, that his M—'s Affairs have been carry'd on by a Patriot Interest in Parliament these twenty Years past, to the Honour of both Kingdoms, and the preservation of his M—y's Government.

We likewise Imagine that those Men should become Suspicious to his M—y, who would convey any Misrepresentations against those Patriots, who always distinguished themselves by the firmest Attachment to his Sacred Person, Royal Family, and Government. And if those Principles, but serve to incur his M——y's Displeasure, it is easy to perceive what secret Enemies, he has too near his Throne.

And tho' the Address of the Commons, and Your Lordships impartial Memorial, as yet have had no Weight with his M—y, yet the Independent and uninfluenced Electors, of every City, Town, Corporation, and Borough of this Kingdom, have such a firm Dependence upon his M——y's inherent Goodness, and impartial Distribution of Justice, that they are resolved unanimously to Address his M—y, and shew in the most public Manner, their Approbation of the Conduct and Proceedings of the Patriots of *I—d*, in P——t this S—ff—n, and also declare their
universal

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universal Disapprobation of the Measures, and Proceedings of those ambitious Men, in whom the Reins of Government at this Time are so unluckily Vested, that nothing but Animosities, and undue Influence are to be met with, where Justice should hold her impartial Scale, and Shed a calm, tranquil, and benign Aspect upon all his M—y's loyal Subjects.

Before We close this Address, my Lord, We humbly take leave to return our most grateful Acknowledgments, to JOHN COLE, Esq; for his invincible Patriotism, this S—ff—n of Parliament, whose Conduct has met with the the most unexceptionable Approbation from the loyal Electors of this Town, who are firmly Resolved to Support his Interest upon all future Elections, tho' Legions of venal Co—r—rs, should in Showers of Gold and Burgundy, court their Suffrages.

And as We have no other Method of disapproving of venial Resentment, and bashaw Rage, We have opened a Subscription, for Equestrian Statues of 4 Patriots, who were turned out of their Places, for their Services to their Country. But lest We should prey too much upon your Lordship's Time, which You so Gloriously employ for the Good of your Country, We shall haste to conclude,

217149
Your LORDSHIP's

most Humble,

Grateful,

Obedient,

and Devoted Servants,

The Free and Independent Electors of INNISKILLEN.

THE

THE
RECANTATION

OF

Sir TADY F-----,
Promulgator General of C--t *Falshoods*.

A Comi-Tragi-Burlescal

P O E M.

Most Humbly Inscribed to the Right Hon.
ever Memorable and truly Illustrious

The EARL of KILDARE.

First Peer, noblest Patriot, and principal Electrifier
of corrupt *V. R---ys* in the Kingdom of Ireland.

Ridiculum acri

Fortius ac melius magnas plerumque secat res. HOR.

Sir TADY,

THIS Party, my Dear, has so injur'd our Trade,
No Fortune this Winter, I'm sure can be made.
But on this my sweet Pet still you may depend,
That DAGON's your stedfast, and very good Friend.

When last he came over, I greeted his coming,
Tho' those of less Sense, were continually humming :
He sent me a Card, you remember who * brought it,
An Honour indeed, tho' I ne'er crav'd nor sought it :
But this I must ever attribute to STANUP.

Who still raises Merit, by making the Man up.
When first I approach'd with Respect to his G---e,
He declar'd I had something 'bove Trade in my Face.

And

* *Ganymede.*

And straight introduc'd me to her G--e the D--ch--fs,
 Who chearfully said, " Sir *Tady* your such is
 " Not easily found, pray how is your Lady?
 " I wish she were here, protest, good Sir *Tady*.
 " Friend *Chesterfield* told me, I'd read in your Looks,
 " More than I could expect in a Vender of Books."

I scrap'd and I bow'd, and with some Hesitation
 Return'd them Thanks for their kind Invitation.
 Then his G---e he engag'd me in machiavel Chat,
 Ask'd several Questions of this and of that.
 My Answer surpriz'd him, he call'd me his Friend,
 And told me I might on his Friendship depend:
 But soon we engag'd in a close Conversation,
 On Things of some Weight and import to the Nation.
 He told me in petto, that Party ran high,
 " And since we're together, between you and I.
 " To what Side do the Town, pray think ye incline,
 " Has *Roger* an Interest superior to mine?"

I strang'd at the Question, and told him *a Rate is*,
 For ev'ry Man's Virtue, when nothing is gratis.
 Let your G---e but propose with Bounty and Spirit,
 And all will pay Homage to Dagon's great Merit:
 And when I consider the wild factious Crew,
 Those turbulent Patriots, and then think on you,
 O Heav'n how I fret, to think that your G---e
 Was sent over to govern so unruly a Place.
 But as for *Kildare*, he'll be taught a due Distance;
 The Commons will sweat him, without your Assistance.
 Here *Roger* and *Cox*, with the rest of the Bevy,
 E'er long will be proud to kneel at your Levee; (others,
 For what can't you do with your Friends, the Commissi-
 And others who'll vote as your G---ce's Petitioners.
 Sir C. is poor and that's a Pretension,
 When Party runs high, for a Place or a Pension.
 And S---t---r---d you know, tho' a Patriot before,
 For your G---e in the Senate will bellow and roar.
Perry for your G---ce will prove black is white,
 His Country despise, and swear Wrong is Right.
 And your Son, may God bless him! to lead up the Van,
 Will bribe half the Nation, I'm sure, if he can.
 Then *Ne--l* will triumph by Dagon's great Favour,
 And be more esteem'd by his Country than ever.

No Tales out of School in Memorials be told,
 But all Things be calm'd by the Pow'r of Gold.
 And as to the M--ey B--lls, please your G--e do you see,
 You'll gain that, and more for a Bribe and a Fee.
 For while you can feed the Court's Expectation,
 You may pocket the Law, by the Wealth of the Nation.
 And whenever the Members presume to run rusty,
 Let your G--e assume Looks terrifick and crusty.
 There's *Bob* at your Back who'll misrepresent them
 To P--l--h--m, and he to the K-- can present them.
 As Rebels or Jacks 'tis easily done;
 For a Thing is Half finish'd when once well begun.
 Let *Kildare* then apply with a second Petition,
 When M--x--w--l makes good his South Sea Expedition.
 Thus so much on Int'rest we chatted, my Dear,
 And his G--e said, I knew Men and Life to a Hair.
 He told me I was an *Adept* of the Dean's,
 Which indeed he might guess, to allow the Man Brains.
 The Subject his G--e next chose to begin on,
 Was how the Town lik'd *Lord Priarius his Son*.
 In Troth here I stammer'd a while; then reply'd,
 His Lordship the Slander of Envy defy'd.
 "What Slander, Sir *Tady*! you're certainly mad,
 "Can any one Censure so hopeful a Lad?"
 Crave Mercy your G--e, but heark by the Way,
 What is't that Envy and Censure won't say?
 And to prove that his Lordship has oftentimes tray'd,
 It rings thro' the Town that he ---Ganymede.
 Then his G--e I imagin'd would fall in a Swoon,
 And I wish'd I had pay'd him no Visit that Noon.
 But his G--e soon recover'd, and said that before me
 He never once heard a Hint of that Story;
 And begg'd I would tell him how that came to pass;
 I then look'd as silly as a Dowager's Ass;
 Tho' I knew in my Heart, that *Bob* rose by his A--e.
 However, I told him I could not devise
 The Motives for any malevolent Lies.

Then he ask'd me how *Caiphas* was lik'd in the Town,
 Here again I was puzzl'd, my dear I must own.
 But with some Confusion I said the same Story,
 Had sully'd his Holiness' Honour, and Glory.
 As for my Part, I lov'd the good Man God bless him,
 And may neither Faction nor Party distress him.

These

These Words then I found to chime well with his G—e,
 And he look'd with a Smile, more compos'd in my Face;
 And said, " Friend, Sir *Tady*, if you will agree
 " To print for the Court, Lord *Caiphas* and me,
 " Some handsome Return, depend shall be paid you;
 " And Party you know, was the first Thing that made you."
 Then I promis'd his G—e on my Honour and Word,
 I'd print for the C—t, and the *Priest*, and my *Lord*.
 But mark my dear Life what I'm likely to come to,
 My forging of C—t Lies, my Int'rest will undo.
 When *TAPLOW* arriv'd, all the Bells rang his Praise,
 And the Town with Bonfires was all in a Blaze.
 Then out starts my J—al, and to lessen his Glory,
 Tells the Town a most damnable fictitious Story.
 " That all those Rejoicings were then in the Way,
 " To celebrate hopeful young G—e's Birth-Day."
 You saw what I suffer'd, when *MEANWELL* appear'd,
 How I cring'd when he can'd me, and how *CARRICK*
 Then I wish'd all their G—ces, and C—t to the Devil, (sneer'd.
 Before I was treated so cursed uncivil.
 And since on my Country depends my Support,
 May I be hang'd like a Dog when I print for the C—r-t.

E U T O P I A.

Nassau Castle, FEBRUARY, 28th 1754.

A

PROCLAMATION,

By his M---y's Lord Chief Joker, and Joker
 General of *IRELAND*.

W Hereas many comical, facetious, entertaining Pa-
 pers have been lately printed and published in the
 City of *Dublin*; and without Art or Industry, dispersed
 throughout this Kingdom, by their own Merits, and the
 irrefragable Facts they contained.

And

And whertas the same directly tended to ridicule Vice in general, but more particularly to point out the Infamy, Debauchery, and Venality of several Personages, whose Principles have rendered them obnoxious to the universal Contempt of all Lovers of God and their Country.

And whereas the said Pamphlets in no particular, tended to alienate the Affections of his M—y's Subjects, or misrepresent the Administration of Deputies in Power; yet, notwithstanding that such Practices are in their own Nature commendable; we are however constrained by an Express from the Inquisition of the *Junto* to declare, that those Papers, if continued, will necessarily give Offence to several Bailiffs, Constables, and all such great Personages, as have testified already a Disposition to sell the Liberties of their Country, to enrich their Families, and coronet their Coaches.

And in as much as the said Pamphlets, &c. have caused secret Heart-burnings, Shame, Confusion and Disgrace in several great Houses in this great Metropolis; and whereas it conduces to the Honour and Reputation of all Enemies to national Liberty, to have as speedy a Stop put to those Pamphlets, &c. as possible.

This is therefore strictly commanding the G—v—r of G—H— (whose Principles qualify him for such a Task) and all the venal Quorum of C—t Placemen, Pensioners, Officers of the C—r—n and other State Cadets, to do what in them lies for discountenancing and suppressing all such comical, well meaning, and innocent Papers, tending either to unmask the Villain, or make the Members of the nefarious Junto ridiculous in the Eyes of Mankind, and without any Trial, Judge or Jury, we do condemn all those Papers aforesaid, as seditious, and dangerous to the Dominions of Venality and Corruption; and for which Reason, as well as many more of equal Importance to the Enemies of Liberty; we strictly charge G—n—y—m—e, and all the Spies about the C—t, to apprehend the Printers, Authors, Readers and Publishers of the aforesaid Papers, that they may be brought to condign Punishment, next Door to Justice in the wrong Place. Given at your Court of *Nassau*, February, 28th 1754.

LORD CHIEF JOKER, &c.

Beggars

Beggars-Hall, FEB. 28th, 1754.

A PROCLAMATION by his Grace, *Hack-Ball*, King of State Mendicants in the Kingdom of *EUTOPIA*.

WHereas many scandalous and seditious Libels have been lately printed and published in the City of *D—n*, and industriously dispersed throughout the Kingdom (in royal Paper) not only falsely and maliciously defaming and villifying the Character and Reputation of several Patriots of Rank and Distinction in this Kingdom, with a View of raising the Stain and odium so justly thrown upon the Enemies of national Liberty; and whereas such Practices if continued will necessarily end in the Disturbance of the public Peace; I do therefore condemn the following Authors and their Works, *viz.*

Free and candid Enquiries. Dr. *B—tt*, Au—r. *P—l* Pr—t—r.

Political Pastime ditto.—Considerations, &c. *G—n—r* *R—n—f—n*, Au—r. *J—s* Pr—t—r.

Observations on, &c. *B—n—d—n* Au—r. Sir *Tady*, Printer.

Two Letters to the Public G. E. *H—d* Au—r. Sir *Tady*, Printer.

Account of the Hereditary, &c. ditto.

As seditious, malicious, scandalous and nefarious Libels, published, printed, and dispersed at the Expence of the *C—t*, in order to misguide his *M—y*'s loyal Subjects, and misrepresent the Patriots of this Kingdom; these are therefore strictly charging and commanding all Bailiffs, Constables, &c. to do what in them lies, for bringing to condign Punishment the Authors, Printers, and Publishers of the aforesaid Libels. And particularly, we charge and command all the Bell hours of all the Churches in the City of *D—n*, to make diligent Search after the aforesaid Dr. *B—tt*, that he may be obliged to do, what he never did but once, preach in his own Parish; and for their Care and Vigilance in this Point, the Bell-hours of the aforesaid City, shall receive a suitable Reward. Given at my Council Chamber at the Sign of *Caiphas*, in *Back-lane*, *February*, 28th, 1754.

The

THE
INNISKILLIN TOASTS.

- 1 THE Fate of *Claudius Rhynsfault*, some Time Governor of *Zealand*, to all those V—e R—ys who would endeavour to injure the Liberties of a free Country.
- 2 The Fate of the Priest at *Rouen* to every Pontiff of corrupt Principles.
- 3 May that Lord die of the Stone which he has impiously made the Head of the Corner.
- 4 May every Cr—r R—r— R—and Dowager L——d M—y—r stand in a white Sheet in Colledge Green, where they betrayed their Country.
- 5 May the Man who intercepted the Universal Advertiser in the General P—f—t Off—ce, be obliged to resign his Commission with Disgrace.
- 6 May the Enemies to *Ireland*, whether Natives or otherwise be proscribed by the Patriots of their Country.
- 7 May the Family of the P——l—ms be as much despised in *Great B—t—n* as they are in *Ireland*.
- 8 May a rotten Stone never have any Hand in the Tuition of a *British* Prince.
- 9 May that H— P—t who studied more to ruin the Nation, than improve their Morals, be deserted by the true Sons of the Church, and obliged to move his Quarters.
- 10 May the Inhabitants of the C—f—le never make Justice and Fortitude Panders to Iniquity, like the Sign of the Angel at a Brothel.
- 11 May the County of *Cavan* Secretary, who betrayed his Father's Principles, be despised by the Nobility of I——d.
- 12 May we never have a G—v—r whose Conduct is to be supported by the Swiss Pen of an Attorney.
- 13 May those who intend a short Call of the House, never live to take an Advantage of the Patriots of I——d.

14 May

- 14 May we never have a G—v—r we are ashamed to toast at public Meetings.
- 15 May the Earl of *Kildare* nail Sir *Tady's* Ears to the Castle Gate, when he misrepresents Patriot Rejoicings in his J—r—n—l next.
- 16 May a wicked Priest never be Deputy G—v—r of *I—d.*
- 17 May the Downfall of the H—P—t be a Warning to Ecclesiastical Ambition.
- 18 May the Author of the Considerations, &c. be pillored for his Disingenuity, which is all the Promotion he merits.
- 19 May the late Prime Serjeant see S—t—rd's Gown pulled over his Ears for Subornation.
- 20 May D. never return to the G—nt of *I—d.*
- 21 May a *Chesterfield* shew us once more the Difference between Virtue and Corruption.
- 22 May D. never open the Exchequer again to the Betrayers of their Country.
- 23 No Male Issue to Venders of public Liberty.
- 24 May those Representatives who voted against their Country upon the Promise of Peerage, have it extinct in the first Creation.
- 25 May the venal Scriblers who write for the C—r—t and publish at their own Expence, never be rewarded by King or Country.
- 26 May the D. N. suffer the Fate of the H—P—t.
- 27 May the Sons of Patriot Coachmen inherit the Estates of venal C—r—s.
- 28 May P—g W—n clap all the C—t Party.
- 29 Flannel and Mercury to the Court Lady that closeted a Patriot Member before the Expulsion of *A—r J—nes N—l.*
- 30 Peggy Wild-Air's Appetite to all C—t Ladies.
- 31 May the C—rs have nothing to comfort their Spirits but *Harts-born Drops.*
- 32 May the first Entertainment at the C—e be crowned with a Dish of Sighs and Groans.
- 33 May all anticonstitutional M—ey B—lls meet with the Fate of *N—l J—nes.*

34 May

- 34 May all Enemies to the Speaker have every Day more Cause to envy him.
- 35 May the Earl of *Kildare* and his Interest support the Ballance of the Nation.
- 36 May those who represent the Patriots of *Ireland* to be Papists, be reduced to the original State of their primitive Nothingness.
- 37 May *Bob M—x—l* make as much Haste to annihilate his Father's ill got Fortune, as he did to misrepresent the Patriots of *I—d*.
- 38 May corrupt C—rs never make the national Bells ring the *Irish* Cry.
- 39 May the Game Cox, that never wheel, still win the Battle.
- 40 A speedy Exportation to the Luggage and Incumbrance at the C—e

Q U E R I E S.

Which is a Place at Court, or in the Country's Esteem most valuable?

Who esteems the P—e S—r—t?

None but his Family, and *Gallaughers*, the Constable.

Who frighten'd him out of a better Place?

Lacas did.

F I N I S.

10. Right Hon. Sir *Compton Downville*, Bart.
 Clerk of the Crown and Hanover,
 and Privy Counsellor.
 11. *Robert Sandford*, the younger, Esq.
 Lieutenant of Dragoons.
 12. *Edward Herbert*, Esq. Comptroller of
 the Port of *Chelmsford*.
 13. *James Wemyss*, Esq. Captain of Foot-
 millions of the Revenue.
 14. *John Gore*, Esq. Council to the Com-
 missioners of the Revenue.
 15. *Edmond Malone*, Esq. King's Council.
 16. *Nathaniel Clements*, Esq. Teller of the
 Exchequer, Ranger of the Phoenix
 Park, and Master of the Game.
 17. *Frederick Gore*, Esq. Clerk of the Quir-
 rents.
 18. *Robert Roberts*, Esq. Deputy Chief
 Remembrancer.
 19. *Henry Boyle Walsingham*, Esq. Second
 Son to the Speaker, and Captain of
 a Troop of Horse.
 20. *Gustavus Lambert*, Esq. Collector of
 Tithes.
 21. *Richard Malone*, Esq. Third Sergeant
 at Law.
 22. *Hon. Thomas Southwell*, Esq. Con-
 stable of the Castle of Limerick.
 23. *Charles Gardiner*, Esq. Master of the
 Revels.
 24. *Francis Mc. Cartney*, Esq. Captain of
 a Company of Foot.
 25. *Patrick Wemyss*, Esq. Half-Pay Lieu-
 tenant on the British Establishment.
 26. *Edward Smyth*, Esq.
 27. *Thomas Adderley*, Esq.
 28. *Arthur Upson*, Esq.
 29. *James Hamilton*, Esq.
 30. *Sir Edward O'Brien*, Bart.
 31. *Arthur Hyde*, Esq.
 32. *Emmanuel Pigott*, Esq.
 33. *Rt. Hon. James Tynne*, Esq. Privy
 Counsellor.
 34. *Sir John Erskine*, Bart.
 35. *John Lynght* the elder, Esq.
 36. *John Lynght* the younger, Esq.
 37. *John Magill*, Esq.
 38. *William Harward*, Esq.
 39. *Sir John Conway Colburn*, Bart.
 40. *Andrew Knox*, Esq.
 41. *Sir Ralph Gore St. Georges*, Bart.
 42. *Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Gore*, Bart. Privy
 Counsellor.
 43. *Abraham Cretchen*, Esq.
 44. *Thomas Montgomery*, Esq.
 45. *Bernard Ward*, Esq.
 46. *James Stevenson*, Esq.
 47. *Alexander Hamilton*, Esq.
 48. *Sir Samuel Cooke*, Bart.
 49. *Sir Archibald Acheson*, Bart.
 50. *Robert Sandford* the elder, Esq.
 51. *Nicholas Archdall*, Esq.
 52. *John Cote*, Esq.
 53. *John Eyre*, Esq.
 54. *John Bingham*, Esq.
 55. *Sir Maurice Croft*, Knt.
 56. *John Blenchesop* the younger, Esq.
 57. *John Blenchesop*, Esq.
 58. *Arthur Blenchesop*, Esq.

P R O S P E R I T Y

I R E L A N D.

1. *Warden Flood*, Esq. Attorney-General.
 2. *Philip Tisdal*, Esq. Solicitor-General,
 and Judge of the Prerogative Court.
 3. *Philip Bragg*, Esq. Lieutenant-General,
 and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.
 4. *Arthur Doherty*, Esq. Governor of North
 Carolina.
 5. *Robert Burton*, Esq. Colonel of the
 Battle-ax Guards.
 6. *Hon. Robert Jactyn*, Esq. Son and Sec-
 retary to the Lord Chancellor, and
 Auditor-General.
 7. *Hon. Thomas Butler*, Esq. Adjutant-
 General.
 8. *Hon. Robert Butler*, Captain of the
 Battle-ax Guards.
 9. *David Bindon*, Esq. Pensioner.
 10. *Hon. James O'Brien*, Esq. Collector
 of Drogheda, and Pensioner.
 11. *Anthony Jephson*, Esq. Half-Pay Cap-
 tain.
 12. *Richard Tansley*, Esq. Collector of
 Baltimore.
 13. *John Follis*, Esq. Colonel of a Regi-
 ment of Foot, and Governor of *Ros*-
 Castle.
 14. *Right Hon. Arthur Hill*, Esq. Privy
 Counsellor.
 15. *Hon. Edward Bradshaw*, Esq. Pen-
 sioner.
 16. *Sir Charles Burton*, Knt. Pensioner.
 17. *Hon. Byssie Maleworth*, Esq. Principal
 Clerk in the Revenue-Secretary's Of-
 fice.
 18. *Hon. John Butler*, Esq. Joint Clerk
 of the Pipe.
 19. *Hon. Brinley Butler*, Esq. Ditto.
 20. *Robert Fitzgerald*, Esq. Collector of
 Malvern.
 21. *Sir William Fournes*, Bart. Packer,
 Searcher, and Gauger in the Port of
 Cork.
 22. *John Grogan*, Esq. Pensioner.
 23. *Right Hon. Luke Gardiner*, Esq. De-
 puty Vice-Treasurer and Privy
 Counsellor.
 24. *Boaden Whiting*, Esq. Commissioner of
 Revenue Appeals, and King's Council.
 25. *Alexander Nesbit*, Esq. Pensioner.
 26. *Anthony Marlay*, Esq. Commissioner
 of Revenue Appeals, and King's
 Council.
 27. *Thomas Tenison*, Esq. Commissioner
 of Revenue Appeals.
 28. *Thomas Migh*, Esq. Lieutenant-Gen-
 eral, and Colonel of a Regiment of
 Horse.
 29. *Robert Cunningham*, Esq. Captain of
 Foot, and late Aid-de-camp to the
 Prime.
 30. *Owen Wynne* the younger, Esq. Ma-
 jor of Dragoons.
 31. *John Wynne*, Esq. Captain of Foot.
 32. *Robert Marshall*, Esq. Second Sergeant
 at Law.
 33. *Right Hon. Sir Thomas Pendergoff*,
 Bart. Privy Counsellor.
 34. *William Richardson*, Esq. Armagh.
 35. *Sir Richard Butler*, Bart.
 36. *Sir Richard Weller*, Bart.
 37. *Samuel Bindon*, Esq.
 38. *William Annell*, Esq.
 39. *Joseph Leeson*, Esq.
 40. *Robert Scott*, Esq.
 41. *Matthew Ford*, Esq.
 42. *Chambre Bradshaw Ponsonby*, Esq.
 43. *Francis Leigh*, Esq.
 44. *John Grahame*, Esq.
 45. *Edward Bolton*, Esq.
 46. *James Sanderson*, Esq.
 47. *Charles Daly*, Esq.
 48. *Robert French*, Esq.
 49. *Thomas Stanton*, Esq.
 50. *James Daly*, Esq.
 51. *Robert Blakeney*, Esq.
 52. *Henry Bingham*, Esq.
 53. *Maurice Keatinge*, Esq.
 54. *Thomas Burn*, Esq.
 55. *Harvey Morris*, Esq.
 56. *James Agar*, Esq.
 57. *Nicholas Aylward*, Esq.
 58. *Benjamin Burton*, Esq.
 59. *Richard Ponsonby*, Esq.
 60. *Sir Laurence Parsons*, Bart.
 61. *Henry Lyons*, Esq.
 62. *William Shawman*, Esq.
 63. *Erre Evans*, Esq.
 64. *Charles Smyth*, Esq.
 65. *Richard Mannfell*, Esq.
 66. *Philip O'Leary*, Esq.
 67. *Hercules Langford Rowley*, Esq.
 68. *Richard Jackson*, Esq.
 69. *Henry Bellingham*, Esq.
 70. *William Henry Fortescue*, Esq.
 71. *Thomas Fortescue*, Esq.
 72. *Robert Rife*, Esq.
 73. *Anthony Fogler*, Esq.
 74. *John Brewster*, Esq.
 75. *Nathaniel Preston*, Esq.
 76. *John Preston*, Esq.
 77. *Sir Thomas Taylor*, Bart.
 78. *Thomas Taylor*, Esq.
 79. *George Evans*, Esq.
 80. *William Wall*, Esq.
 81. *Jonah Barrington*, Esq.
 82. *Owen Wynne* the elder, Esq.
 83. *Stephen Moore*, Esq. Nephew to the
 Earl of Bejborough.
 84. *William Stewart*, Esq.
 85. *William Richardson*, Esq. Augher.
 86. *Samuel Barker*, Esq.
 87. *Charles Tottenham*, Esq.
 88. *John Leigh*, Esq.
 89. *James Siegford*, Esq.
 90. *Hon. Nicholas Loftus Hume*, Esq.
 91. *Thomas Loftus*, Esq.
 92. *William Fitch*, Esq.
 93. *Anthony Bradshaw*, Esq.
 94. *Richard Chapel Watley*, Esq.
 95. *Edmond Sexton Perry*, Esq.
 96. *John Stratford*, Esq.
 97. *Charles Usher*, Esq.
 98. *Robert Percival*, Esq.

A LIST of the MEMBERS of the Hon. House of COMMONS of IRELAND, who voted on the Question previous to the Expulsion of *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; late Engineer and Surveyor-General of that Kingdom.

NOVEMBER 2, 1733.

THE House was moved, that the Resolution of the House of the 6th of March, 1732, should be read, whereby it was resolved, That *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; Surveyor and Engineer-General, should at his own Expence, and without any further Charge to the Publick, be obliged to procure the several Persons with whom he hath contracted for the building, rebuilding, and repairing the Barracks, to make good the Defects in the Works by them respectively contracted for, and to staunch and finish the same in the most effectual Manner, so as to make the said Barracks fit and convenient for the Reception of his Majesty's Troops.

Then it was resolved,

THAT the House will, on this Day Forthnight, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to enquire whether *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; late Engineer and Surveyor-General, hath, at his own Expence, and without any further Charge to the Publick, procured the several Persons with whom he had contracted for the building, rebuilding, and repairing the Barracks, to make good the Defects in the Works by them respectively contracted for, and to staunch and finish the same in the most effectual Manner, so as to make the said Barracks fit and convenient for the Reception of his Majesty's Troops, pursuant to the Resolution of this House.

NOVEMBER 16.

Ordered, THAT it be an Instruction to the Committee, to enquire, whether *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; has used any, and what Endeavours, towards making good the Defects of the Barracks, built, rebuilt, or repaired by him.

Tellers for the AYES.

Sir *Richard Cox*, Bart. Collector of Cork Port. }
Col. *Richard Boyle*, eldest Son to the Speaker. } 124

1. Right Hon. *Thomas Carter*, Esq; Master of the Rolls, Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench, and Privy Counsellor.
2. *Anthony Malone*, Esq; Prime Sergeant at Law.
3. Hon. *John Caulfeild*, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal.
4. *Cobly Nesbit*, Esq; Collector of *Cavan*.
5. *Bellingham Boyle*, Esq; Register of the Prerogative Court, and Pensioner.
6. *Edward Barry*, Esq; Physician-General to the Army.
7. *Michael O'Brien Dilke*, Esq; Quartermaster, and Barrack-master-General.
8. *Henry Gore*, Esq; Captain of Foot.
9. *William Cogger*, Esq; Master in Chancery, and Chief Examiner.
10. Right Hon. Sir *Campton Downville*, Bart. Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, and Privy Counsellor.
59. *William Croftis*, Esq;
60. *Edmond Malone*, Esq;
61. Sir *Kildare Dixon Borrows*, Bart.
62. *John Digby*, Esq;
63. *Robert Downes*, Esq;
64. *Walter Weldon*, Esq;
65. *Ralph Gore*, Esq;
66. *Richard Dawson*, Esq;
67. *Joseph Deane*, Esq;
68. *Richard French*, Esq;
69. *Henry Elfrange*, Esq;
70. *William Gore*, Esq;
71. *Hugh Crofton*, Esq;
72. *Gilbert King*, Esq;
73. Hon. *Henry Southwell*, Esq;
74. *Edward Cary*, Esq;
75. *William Scott*, Esq;
76. *Henry Hamilton*, Esq;
77. *Henry Cary*, Esq;
78. Sir *Arthur Newcomen*, Bart.
79. *Arthur Gore*, Esq;
80. *Arthur Gore*, Esq;

THEN the House resolved itself into the said Committee; and continued so to do several Days after, unto the twenty third of November, 1733, on which Day, Mr. *John Roeborn* reported from said Committee the following Resolutions.

THAT it appears to this Committee, That *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; late Engineer and Surveyor-General, hath not at his own Expence, and without any further Charge to the Publick, procured the several Persons with whom he had contracted for the building, rebuilding, and repairing the Barracks, to make good the Defects in the Works by them respectively contracted for, and to staunch and finish the same in the most effectual Manner, so as to make the said Barracks fit and convenient for the Reception of his Majesty's Troops, pursuant to a Resolution of this House last Session of Parliament.

THAT it appears to this Committee, that *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; late Engineer and Surveyor-General, hath not used reasonable and proper Endeavours, towards making good the Defects of the Barracks, built, rebuilt, or repaired by him.

To which Resolutions the House agreed.

THE Colonel *Richard Boyle*, seconded by *John Cole*, Esq; moved, That the said *Arthur Jones Nevill*, Esq; late Engineer and Surveyor-General, in not complying with the Resolution of this House, hath acted in manifest Contempt of the Authority thereof. THIS being the Foundation for the Expulsion, which followed, occasioned a Debate, which lasted till Ten at Night, when the Question was carried, by a Majority of eight Voices.

Tellers for the NOES.

Thomas Lebunt, Esq; Counsellor at Law. }
Aymondilham Vesey, Esq; Accomptant-General. } 116

1. Right Hon. Lord *George Sackville*, Son and Principal Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Secretary at War, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, Privy-Counsellor, and Clerk of the Council.
2. *Robert Maxwell*, Esq; Second Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.
3. Right Hon. *John Ponsonby*, Esq; Second Son to the Earl of *Beiborough*, Commissioner of his Majesty's Revenue, and Privy Counsellor.
4. *William Briflow*, Esq; Commissioner of his Majesty's Revenue.
5. *John Bourke*, Esq; Commissioner of his Majesty's Revenue.
6. Hon. *Richard Ponsonby*, Esq; Third Son to the Earl of *Beiborough*, and Secretary to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenue.
7. *Warden Flood*, Esq; Attorney-General.
8. *Philip Tisdal*, Esq; Solicitor-General.
40. *Robert Handcock*, Esq; Collector of *Athlone*.
41. Right Hon. *George Lord Forbes*, Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot.
42. Hon. *Henry Loftus*, Esq; Clerk of Coast Permits in the Port of *Dublin*.
43. *Walter Hors*, Esq; Judge Advocate-General.
44. Hon. *Hugh Steffington*, Esq; Cornet of Horse.
45. *James Smyth*, Esq; Collector of *Dublin* Port.
46. *John Maxwell*, Esq; Prothonotary of the Common Pleas.
47. *Eaton Stannard*, Esq; King's Council.
48. Hon. *Hungerford Steffington*, Esq; Pensioner.
49. Hon. *William Moleworth*, Esq; Surveyor-General of King's Lands, &c.
50. *William Richardson*, Esq; *Armagh*.
51. *William Brownlow*, Esq;
52. Sir *Richard Butler*, Bart.
53. Sir *Richard Butler*, Bart.